

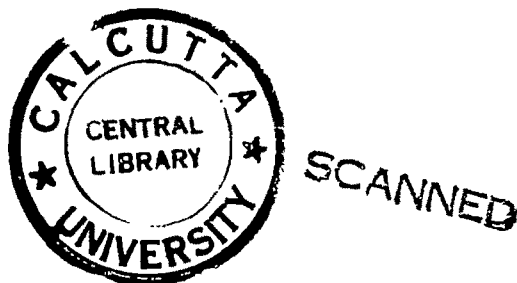
LIBRARIES
AND
LIBRARIANSHIP
IN
ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA
(FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO C. 1850 A.D.)

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(Thesis submitted for D.Phil. Examination)
Calcutta University.

By

Bimal Kumar Datta



Preface

The history of the libraries and librarianship is an essential chapter in the history of the intellectual development of mankind. It unveils a graphic picture of human endeavour for learning as well as for propagation of knowledge through recorded communication.

Volumes were written on the history of libraries of Europe and other ancient countries but so far no systematic survey was made on this line regarding the libraries of India. The volume is an humble attempt to depict the story of libraries and librarianship of ancient and medieval India which will help us to have a fuller knowledge of the history of Indian education and culture as well as to appreciate the richness of the whole.

It took considerable time to collect the tiny and scattered chips of information from literary and archaeological sources as well as from foreign travellers accounts. Further I have visited some of the important sites and fully utilised all the modern works and articles. To all these my debt is great and gladly acknowledged.

I convey my profound respect to my teacher and guide Dr. Nihar-Banjan Ray, M.A., F.L.A., D.Litt. and Phil. Bagisvari Professor of Indian Art and Culture, Calcutta University and President, Indian Library Association for his guidance, help and encouragement.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.	Art in Industry
E.A.	Eastern Art
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica
E.W.	East and West
G.O.S.	Gaekwad's Oriental Series
H.L.B.	Harvard Library Bulletin
I.A.	Indian Archives
I. An.	Indian Antiquary
I.C.	Islamic Culture
I.L.	Indian Librarian
J.A.H.S.	Journal of the Andhra Historical Society
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J.B.O.R.	Journal of the Bihar/Orissa Research Society.
J.G.R.S.	Journal of the Guzrat Research Society
J.I.A.I.	Journal of the Indian Art and Industry
J.I.H.	Journal of Indian History
J.M.U.	Journal of Madras University
J.O.I.	the Journal of/Oriental Institute, Baroda
J.O.R.	Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras
J.R.A.S.B.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
J.T.S.M.L.	Journal of the Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library.
J.U.B.	Journal of the University of Bombay

L.A.R.	Library Association Record, London
M.M.L.A.	Memoirs of the Madras Library Association
M.P.A.M.M.	Memorial Papers of the American Marathi Mission.
N.I. An.	New Indian Antiquary
P.O.	Poona Orientalist
V.B.Q.	Visva-Bharati Quarterly

CONTENTS

	<u>pages</u>
Preface	ii
Abbreviations	iii
Introduction	1-18
Old and Modern Definition of a Library.	
Scope of the Present work.	
Source and Source Materials.	
Chapter I. Early Monastic and other Institutional Libraries	19-58
II. Libraries of Western and Southern India	59-78
III. Royal and Important Private Libraries of the Sultānate Period..	79-95
IV. Libraries of the Moghuls, the Minor Muṣlim Kingdoms, the Marāthas and the Contemporary Hindu Centres of Learning	96-142
V. Libraries of the Early European Settlers of South India and Bengal and the Library of Tipu Sultān ..	143-158
VI. Writing Materials Through the Ages and the Introduction of Paper..	159-205
VII. Binding of Manuscripts and Books Through the Ages	206-219
VIII. Illumination and Illustration of Manuscripts and Books	220-251
IX. Library Techniques and Administra- tion.	252-299
X. History of Printing in India	300-348
Bibliography	349

INTRODUCTORY

Old and Modern Definition of a Library

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Scope of the Present Work

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Sources and Source Materials.

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Old and Modern Definition of a Library

Phenomenal spread of literary and formal education through books in Europe from about the middle of the 19th cy. and social changes brought about by the industrial revolution have changed the entire conception, organisation and administration of libraries - whether institutional or public all over the western world. Even in countries that were for centuries economically backward, social, political and economic changes have been taking place in a quickened tempo from about the beginning of the century, and with the spread of literary and formal education through books libraries in the oriental world have come to mean quite a different institution than they had been through centuries. Through a process of evolution libraries of the contemporary world have reached a stage where they have more or less a common attitude and approach, common aims and objectives and a more or less uniform systems of organisations and administration.

It is perhaps necessary to know what libraries in the ancient and medieval world were like, what were their aims and objects and how they were organized and administered, so as to enable us to get a clearer perspective of the library situation of the contemporary

Refer to
p. 10

world. It is with a view to this as well as to satisfy modern man's curiosity in respect of human achievements of the past that serious studies have been made in the field of the libraries of ancient civilizations for example of Egypt and Babylon, of Greece and Rome and of the medieval christian world. These studies have revealed that some of the tools, techniques and methods of ancient and medieval libraries have been born by tradition and practice into those of modern libraries and they have profited by them. Besides enquiries into the methods, practices and organisation of ancient and medieval libraries of the Western World, these studies have given us a better insight into the social, and cultural life of the people.

It is a common knowledge that in ancient and medieval India indeed right upto the end of the 18th cy. libraries were considered as important centres of learning and a most significant medium of education and wisdom. Emperors, kings and nobles therefore reared up and maintained libraries of their own and so did the various religious and monastic organisations. In recent years, with growing interest in modern libraries and librarianship we are increasingly becoming interested to know what these libraries were like, how they were organised and administered and what were

their aims and purposes. Our interest have naturally resulted in stray excursions into the field of ancient and medieval libraries and here and there a few papers have been published or incidental references have also been creeping into chapters of books on libraries and librarianship or history of Indian education. But unfortunately no serious and systematic attempt have so far been made to give a more or less integrated picture of libraries in ancient and medieval India. This dessertation purports to be an attempt in this directions and with aims at serving the same purpose in India as similar attempts have done in respect of libraries and librarianship of the Western World.

The modern definition of " a library (from Latin "Liber" i.e. book) is a collection of printed or written material arranged and organised for the purpose of study and research or of general reading or both. The organisation ranges from a system of great complexity with catalogues and indexes and other records, a binding department, a secretariat and a large staff, to the simple arrangement with perhaps a list of books, which suffice for the owner of the smaller private library."¹

Generally modern libraries include many books, a whole separate building and a librarian but even if the books are few and even it is only the owner who is at at the same time the keeper, it is still recognised to

1 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1961

be a library if the books are kept for use and not for sale.

In the western world the two terms "Library" and "Bibliotheca" are used to denote the place where books and manuscripts are kept. The former is derived from the Latin root "Liber" i.e. book whence the term "Librarium" i.e. a place where to keep manuscripts and books. The word "Bibliotheca" is derived from the Greek word "Biblos" or "Byblos" whence the word "Biblion" i.e. a book and "Theka" means a case or cabinet; hence "Bibliotheca" is literally a book-case or a collection of books.

In ancient and medieval India the following terms were generally used to denote a collection of granthas or Pustakas (manuscripts generally, and

since the introduction of printing, also books).

Nivandha -Pustaka -Sthāna	1
Dharma-gaṇja ..	2
Grantha Kūthi ..	3
Jñāna Bhāndār ..	4
Pustaka Bhāndār ..	5
Saraswati Bhāndār ..	6
Bhārati Bhāndagāras..	7
Saraswati Mahāl ..	8
Kitāb Khānā ..	9
Punthi Khānā ..	10
Vidyāśālā ..	11
Gātā Ghar ..	12

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1. Arthasāstra. Ed. Shāmasāstry. p.62
 2. History of Indian Logic. Vidya Bhusan. p.516
 3. Trikāṇḍa: (Viśva-Koṣha. p.603)
 4. Jain chitra Kalpadrum: Sarabhai Nawab
 5. Annual Report of the South Indian Epigraphy. 1936-37 pp.81-82
 6. Annual Report of the South Indian Epigraphy. 1938-39 No.139 and Hyderabad Archaeological Series No.8.
 7. Indian Paleography. Buhler. p.93
 8. A descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss.in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Saraswati Mahāl Library. Tanjore, P.P.S. Sastry. Vol.I.
 9. Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi I.H.Qureshi
 10. J.O.R. Vol. XXVII, p. 143.
 11. Studies in Indian Literary History Vol.II, p.122-36.
 12. Chitipatre Samāj Chitra. Viśva-Bhārati. Vol. 2,p.483.

The Arthasāstra mentions among others a public institution named Akṣapatala which included the officer of accounts (Gāṇanīky-adhikāra) and in which an officer (Adhyaksha) hold the charge of a depository of chief books (Nibandha Pustaka-sthāna).

The term "Dharma-gaṇja" means a "Mart of Religions" and it was used to denote the library quarter of the Nālandā University. The "Dharma-gaṇja" consisted of three splendid buildings by the names of Ratna-Sāgara, Ratna-dadhi and Ratnarañjaka.

"Grantha Kuthi" literally means "the book house". The sanskrit root "Grantha" means to keep things together binding through a chord. In India the term was used for manuscripts as the leaves of the manuscripts were usually kept tied by stringing them by means of a chord. In South and Western India Jñāna, Pustaka and Saraswatī Bhāndār or Mahal were used to denote a library. "Jñāna" means "knowledge" and "Saraswatī" means "the goddess of learning" and when these terms are combined with "Bhāndār" or "Mahal" i.e. "Store-house", they stand as the store-house of knowledge or the abode of the goddess of learning. The other term "Pustaka" is derived from Avestan. It is derived from "Post" which stands for things piled up one upon another and sewn and bound together. In India "Pustaka" means "Book" and "Pustaka-Bhāndār" or "Pustaka Sthāna" means "Store house of books". The other name used for library is Bhārati-Bhāndagāras, which means Treasury (Bhāndagāras) of the goddess of speech (Bhārati).

During the time of the Delhi Sultanate and the Imperial Mughals central administration was organised into several departments and each department was known as Karkhānā (workshop). Among the various departments "Kitāb-khānā" was one. Kitāb-khānā literally means the department (Khānā) of books (Kitāb). Hindu rulers of the late medieval period did not like the Arabic word "Kitāb" and in its place used "Punthi" i.e. manuscripts. Punthi-Khānā therefore means the department of manuscripts.

The Akasabhairava Kalpa manuscript gives detail history of the Vijayanagar dynasty. The manuscript is housed in the Saraswatī Mahal manuscript library of Tanjore and may be dated in the 15th century.

In Patala 32 of the said manuscript we find detailed instructions regarding construction of the inner apartments of the royal palace. One of these apartments was known as Vidyā-sālā or manuscript room which generally housed the royal collection of manuscripts and books.

During 18th and 19th centuries libraries of Bengal were known as Gātā Ghar. The term "Gātā" comes from "Grantha" and "Ghar" from Griha" or room.

Scope of the Present Work

In ancient and medieval India literacy or formal education through books was the privilege of the very few. It was confined strictly to the uppermost social strata of the population - the Brahmins and Khatriyas and within the confines of the monastic organisations. At a later period the boundary was somewhat extended so as to include the upper strata of the bureaucratic officials and accounts clerks maintained by the trading and commercial communities. Though exceptions are known - women were practically excluded as well as the lower social and economic classes. It follows therefore the libraries were few and far between and were the almost exclusive possessions of Royal and feudal courts and scholarly individuals of the priestly classes and the various religious and monastic organisations. Besides, printing did not take root and flourish in India before the 16th cy. Hence books in the modern sense were unknown and all that these libraries possessed were therefore Mss. which had to be copied with infinite care and patient labour and often at considerable expense. Copying of Mss. were therefore considered as a work of religious merit, a kind of ritual so to say. Thus there grew up a class of literates whose profession seems to be copying of Mss. These were the people who were recrui-

-ted by emperors, kings and feudal lords for writing and multiplicating of Mss. for the court libraries.

The situation in India was the same as what obtained in medieval Europe before the inventions of printing. Such individual and institutional libraries were the only centres of education of ancient and medieval India. It was round these libraries that there grew up what came to be known as Pāthsālās, Tols and Chatus-pāthis (Schools and colleges) or even larger colleges and universities (Vihāra and Mahā-Vihāras) maintained by the temples and monastic organisations. There in the secluded corners of the houses of individual gurus or of the institutional and feudal libraries or of monastic institutions - knowledge was imparted from generation to generation, Mss. were written and copied, multiplied and preserved. Scholars, priests and monks were the people who were almost exclusively in charge of teaching as well as of copying and multiplication of books. They were also the preservers and custodians of the treasures of Mss. and were thus the sole authority of interpretation, multiplication and preservation of Mss.

There is a Sanskrit saying KOSAVĀN ĀCĀRYAH¹ which means that to have a library is to be an educator. This certainly gives us an idea of the prestige, privilege and responsibility of one who possessed a

1. The Library Movement. Madras Library Association, 1929, p.130.

library.

Ancient India touched excellence in most of the branches of knowledge, created great religious systems and developed independent schools of philosophy. Thus she became the light of the East and an important centre of knowledge and wisdom. Her attainment was not the product of one day or one generation but a cumulation of experiences of many centuries. Books and manuscripts, being the social mechanism for preserving the racial memory were accumulated and in course of time there must have grown all over the country innumerable store-houses of knowledge.

The purpose of the present volume is to trace the historical growth and development of libraries and librarianship of ancient and medieval India(upto 1850 A.D.). This work, as no comprehensive and scientific investigation were made on this line, will fill up an important gap and will enlighten an important aspect of the cultural history of India.

From the archaeological and literary evidences it is evidently clear that nature, vandalism, sectarian and communal feuds and jealousies as well as migration of large collections of manuscripts and books to sister countries are equally responsible for the destruction and acute dearth of direct evidences about libraries of ancient and medieval India.

Besides these, destruction of precious collections due to wanton negligence has been appalling. How the libraries of ancient and medieval India were damaged and destroyed will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

See again p. 13

An account of the historical evolution of Indian libraries and librarianship will naturally include the different aspects of the subjects like writing materials, binding, illustration as well as administrative problems like classification, cataloguing, preservation and management. The introduction of printing which ushered a new age and pushed the book-production and library development in this country also comes within the scope of this work. In this volume I have attempted to present all these topics so that their inter-relationship will become apparent and the history of libraries and librarianship in ancient and medieval India will appear in perspective as an essential factor in the history of Indian culture.

It will not be out of place to say a few words on the limitations of the different topics which will be mainly discussed with a view to substantiating the main theme. It is very natural that presenting such a vast and so diverse material there should appear some deficiencies particularly in matters where there is dearth of evidence and where highly specialized knowledge is required.

For the convenience of readers I briefly summarize here the different chapters of this volume.

The first chapter - Early monastic and other institutional libraries of India - portrays the history and characters of monastic, university and imperial libraries with brief outline of the educational background of the country. The travel diaries of Chinese travellers - Fa-Hsien, Hiuen-Tsang and I-Tsing have been fully utilised.

In the second chapter an attempt has been made to describe the growth and development of Jain Jñāna Bhandārs of western India as well as Saraswatī Bhandārs of South India.

The third chapter deals with the history of royal and important private libraries of the Sultānate period with special emphasis on the then educational and cultural activities.

The fourth chapter describes the royal and important private libraries of the Mughal period. This chapter also includes the story of the library activities of contemporary Hindu centres of learning, libraries of the Deccani Sultāns as well as of the Marāthas.

In the next chapter I have discussed the educational activities of the Christian missionaries of South India and Bengal and their contribution towards the development of libraries in India. Here an

attempt was made to complete the story by narrating the continuity of the theme upto 1903 when Lord Curzon converted the Calcutta Public Library into a national institution. Here also a brief account of the library of Tipu Sultān who died in 1799 is included.

On the writing materials through the ages and introduction of paper there exists a bulk of literature. I have rearranged the whole thing and added some fresh facts.

The next two chapters deal with (a) Making of books and binding through the ages and (b) Illustration of manuscripts and books.

The ninth chapter relates the systems of knowledge as well as book classifications, cataloguing and methods of manuscript preservation. It also includes an account of library personnel, their pay and status as well as of the existing remains of old library buildings.

Introduction of printing ushered a new age and introduced revolutionary changes in the field of libraries and librarianship. In the tenth or last chapter an attempt was made to complete the survey by discussing the story of the history of printing in India. I have fully utilized the valuable researches done by Mr. Priolkar on this subject.

Sources and Source Materials

The sources and materials available for the construction of a history of ancient and medieval libraries of India, may be broadly divided under two broad heads - literary and archaeological. Literary sources include both foreign and indigenous material. From the accounts of Nearchos, who as a general of Alexandar accompanied him in the Indian invasion; Strabo, an Asiatic Greek who wrote his geography in the first quarter of the first century A.D. and of Curtis, another Greek writer we get, though brief, valuable information regarding writing and writing materials. The Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hsien(399 A.D.), Hiuen-Tsang(630 A.D.) and I-Tsing(671-675 A.D.) as well as many other Buddhist pilgrims from neighbouring countries visited India in search of polity and religious literature. These pilgrims visited many educational centres and the accounts left by them contain valuable information regarding ancient libraries and their administrations. Among the Arab writers Abu Riham (known as Alberuni) depicted in the official records and imperial biographies authentic account of the contemporary India. Tabaqât-i-Nâsari by Minhâj-ud-din composed in 13th cy. left a detailed account of the Muslim rule in India and its cultural pattern.

Lastly the records of the European travellers and Jesuit priests who visited the country since the middle of the 17th century detail about India's cultural and religious history. Among them Bernier Francois - Travels in the Mughul Empire, Sir Edward Maclagan's - The Jesuits and the Great Moghuls; Niccolus Manucci's - Storia De Mogor and Jean Baptist Taverniers as well as Thevenot Careri, Ovington, Mandeslo's travel diaries contain vivid description of contemporary Indian libraries, writing materials and other activities centering round manuscripts and books.

Indigenous literary sources may be divided into three parts according to periods - a) early Bramhinical, Jain, and Buddhist literatures, b) medieval court chronicles, biographies as well as autobiographical sketches, official records and (c) modern pioneer works.

In the early literatures of India reference to writing and other allied topics are very meagre and widely scattered.

The early Bramhinical literatures - the Rg-veda, Atharva-veda, Upanishads and the Rāmāyan furnish us with scanty references to writing and the various schemes of knowledge classification. The Mahābhārata contains a vivid picture of using Granthas or manuscript by Mahārāja Janaka.

The Purāṇas tell us of distribution of sacred literature and indirectly refer to a crude idea of block printing. To Kautilya's Arthasāstra we owe the first direct reference to a collection of manuscripts (Nibandha Pustaka sthāna) and also reference to writing materials and forms of writing. Trikāṇḍa furnishes us with another reference to "Grantha-Kuthi" or the "house of the manuscripts".

Court epics and dramas like Mudrā-Rākshasa, Mālatī Mādhava, Śākuntalā, Vāsavadattā etc. contain important portions with some accounts of contemporary writing and writing materials.

Among the Buddhist literatures the Jātakas include highly authentic, clear and a large number of references to writing, varied types of writing materials and the use of manuscripts for daily reading.

The cultural history of the Sultānate period is revealed through works like Tabaqāti-Nāsari by Minhājus Sirāj, Tarikhi-Firūz-Shāhi and Wāqī'āti - Mustāqi. Here we find some vivid pictures how the sultans patronised learning and promoted the cause of writing as well as establishing libraries.

Bābur-Nāmā refers to the imperial library founded by Bābur. The story of the imperial library of Akbar and its varied activities are faithfully depicted in Akbar-Nāmā and Ain-i-Akhari. For the ~~reconstruction~~ reconstruction of the history of the libraries of nobles and

high officers of the court Tārīkhi-Badauni is highly useful.

I have utilized Tūzuki-Jahāngiri and Waqūi' Wāqi'āti-Jahāngiri for reconstructing the history of Jahāngir's library and other library activities. To supplement the accounts contemporary facts left by Jesuits proved very useful.

Another helpful author is Farīstha whose work is full of facts about the country around him. From his account I have gathered many useful information and events regarding the libraries of Deccani Sultāns. Siyarul Mutakharin mentions briefly the account of the library of Ālīvardi-khān, Nawab of Bengal.

Of the important modern works which dealt with the varied aspects of library history, evolution of writing and the materials used in ancient India we must mention the name of Buhler's Indian Paleography. This piece of pioneer work, inspite of the recent researches made on this line, carries the stamp of authenticity and scholarship. Dr. R.K. Mukherjee's - Ancient Indian Education which contains useful passages on the history of ancient Indian libraries considerably helped me.

To trace the historical evolution of medieval and modern libraries Frank Penny's - Church in Madras ; Jadunath Sircar's - Mughul Administration as well as Anecdotes of Aurangzib and Historical Essays; N.N. Law's Promotion of Learning in ~~illu~~ Muslim India and Promotion of Learning in India by early European settlers upto about 1800 A.D. ; Jain Chitra Kalpadrum by Sāra-

-bhai Nawab and Sri A.K.Priolkar's- The Printing Press in India proved very useful.

The archaeological finds which serve as the most direct and authentic records may broadly be divided into two - Inscriptions and Monuments. The inscriptions both official and private documents are invaluable for the elucidation of facts for our subject. These documents refer to the grant of land and villages for construction and maintenance of temple libraries; to donations made for the purchase of manuscripts and also for the extension of monastic libraries and to land grants for the maintenance of libraries.

The remains of ancient buildings which survived cruel onslaught of time and nature are living testimonials to the history of Indian libraries. The archaeological department explored the ruins of Nālandā university which was famous for its library. The present Kamalaula mosque of Dhara once housed the college and library of King Bhoja. The existing Nilkantheswar temple at Udayapur was partly used as the library built in 1059 by Udayāditya. Sher Mandal, the library building of Humāyun, the college of Muhammad Gawan in the city of Bidar, Adil Shahi library of Bijapur, the Tanjore Saraswati Mahal library are the other important land-marks.

Chapter -I

Early monastic and other institutional libraries

1. The background
2. Libraries in the 5th cy. A.D.
(Account of Fa - Hsien)
3. Libraries in the 7th Cy.A.D.
(Account of Hiuén - Tsang)
4. I-Tsing's account of libraries
in the 7th cy. A.D.
5. Libraries attached to important
centres of education in Eastern
and Central India -
 - (a) Nālandā
 - (b) Vikramśilā
 - (c) Odantapuri
 - (d) Somāpuri
 - (e) Jaggadal
 - (f) Mithilā
6. Libraries attached to important
centres of education in Western India
 - (a) Vallabhi
 - (b) Kanheri and
7. The Imperial collection of manuscripts.

The history of the evolution of libraries is an essential chapter in the history of the intellectual development of civilization and there is always an intimate relation between the development of libraries and the spread of knowledge through recorded communication. Use of writing and education through written records naturally stimulated the practice of their collection and preservation which ultimately made ground for the formation of libraries.

Since the development of libraries in the sense of collections of manuscripts and books as repositories of recorded knowledge has everywhere been largely dependent on the evolution of the educational process, it is necessary to refer briefly to the system of educational process of this country from the earliest times to the introduction of the ~~prismar~~ printing press later in the 16th century and the beginning of modern education in the nineteenth.

The generally accepted and practised method of communication in India was by word of mouth and learning by rote through repetition of the spoken words. Whether it was in the Bramhinical or Buddhist, the Jain or Islamic system the usual practice was the same as referred to above. It is however necessary to mention that the discovery of chalcolithic civilization

in the Sind Valley and elsewhere in India has revealed to us a very large number of seals bearing pictographs which presupposes that some kind of writing must have been wellknown. But we have not been able to find a key to the reading of the pictographs. The pictographic writings must have been obsolete by the time India came to witness the rise and spread of Indo-Aryan civilization. The Vedas and the Vēdāṅgas i.e. the Upanishads, Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas are certainly records of the earliest phases of the Indo-Aryan civilization, but we have as yet no evidence to prove that they were written down contemporaneously i.e. during the time C.2000 B.C. to 600 B.C. - to which they are generally ascribed. We have no evidence to show that they are actually written down on any kind of writing material though it can be presumed that they may have been written down in some script or other.

There are some inscriptions which carry the date¹ of writing back to Pre-Asokan times. But factually speaking, from the point of view of archaeology the positive evidence of writing in large scale in India does not antedate the Mauryan period. The inscriptions of Asoka are distributed over a wide area in India. The script and the method of writing of these very records, seem to suggest that writing in India

could not have reached such an advanced state without the previous practice of several centuries. The list of various subjects and treatises which seem to have been taught to the Upanishadic Āśhramas or in the Buddhist vihāras or in the days of Pāṇini lead one to assume that a considerable amount of manuscripts must have been in existence and they were used at any rate by the priestly intellectuals and there must have been collections of such manuscripts at important centres of study.

"When we remember the vast mass of literature, even in the fourth or fifth century B.C. and the extensive use of writing for administrative purposes in the time of Aśoke, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that books were much more extensively in use than is now commonly believed or was admitted by priestly writers and monks".²

The Asokan inscription (Bhabru Rock Edict) mentions a few Buddhist texts which suggests that such texts existed not merely in words of mouth but also as physical entities. These texts were prescribed for daily perusal and recital of monks and laity.

Since the days of Pāṇini (4th cy. B.C.) production of literary works in the forms of manuscripts was in vogue. Pāṇini mentions granthas or composed works (iv.3.87; iv.3.116); the different kinds of

authors as Mantrakāra, Padakāra, Sūtrakāra, Gāthā-kāra, Slokakāra and Śabda-kāra(iii.2.23); principles for naming books as Kṛita Grantha(iv.3.116) and Adhikṛitya Kṛite Granthe(iv.3.87) as well as method of planning treatises or Tantra-yukti(iv.3.87). The method of planning treatises was known to Kautilya, Charaka and Suśruta.

In the Epic age manuscript reading was prevalent inspite of patronising oral teaching. In the Śānti Parva of Mahābhārata Vasistha said to Mahārāja Janak - "Your Majesty (Janaka), you have studied Vedas and other śāstras but you failed to understand the proper significance of them. Your study of the Vedas and other Śāstras will bear no fruit. Those who are able to study the Books(Granthas) and cannot understand the significance and inner meaning of them, study uselessly. They only can carry the burdens of the books. But this study becomes fruitful whom really understand~~x~~ the meaning of the books and can answer proper the related questions from the books"³ This passage is a concrete evidence of using manuscripts and also furnishes us with a definite clue as to why reading of manuscripts was discouraged.

Writing was extensively used in Buddhist India and reading of manuscripts was widely practised as is evidenced from ampler references to various types of writing and writing materials as well as frequent use

of the words "Sippam Vācheti" i.e. getting the sciences read in the Jātakas. The use and existence of manuscripts are evidently clear from the following passages of Jātakas. In the Tundila-Jātaka the Bodhisatta caused a book of judgement to be written and said - "by observing this book you should settle suits" (iii.292). The Setaketu-Jātaka furnishes us with a more concrete case which positively indicates the existence of manuscripts and their use. It also incidentally mentions how a manuscript is to be wrapped in coloured cloth and kept on a painted stand (iii.235).

From these archaeological as well as literary evidences it is clear that writing and reading of manuscripts were regularly practised in ancient India since the fourth century B.C. and it is very natural to presume that there grew and developed collections of manuscripts at important centres of learning as well as in private collections.

To these important centres of learning richly endowed with royal grants scholars from all parts of India and abroad used to come to receive instructions at the feet of profound savants of the day. The Jātakas constantly refer to two such important centres - Takkasila and Benaras, where students from different parts of India used to come for higher studies. It is very natural that all these institutions ~~xxx~~

maintained their respective manuscript collections and many original works and commentaries were written there.

So far an attempt was made to survey the accounts of writing, composing new texts and their uses from the archaeological as well as Buddhist and Brahminical texts. The ancient collections of manuscripts are lost and hence it is not possible to ascertain the nature and character of their existences.

To reconstruct the history of early Indian libraries we now turn to the descriptions left by the Chinese pilgrims who visited the Buddhist holy places and monasteries, studied there and copied manuscripts. The accounts left by Fa-Hsien, Hsuen-Tsang and I-Tsing, being first hand evidences will be authentic and will help us to corroborate the textual and archaeological evidences as described.

Libraries in the 5th c. A.D.

(Account of Fa-Hsien)

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The first anchorage in the history of ancient Indian libraries is furnished by the travel diary of the famous Chinese traveller - Fa-Hsien, who visited India in 399 A.D. and stayed in this country upto 414 A.D. The chief purpose of his visit was to pay homages to the holy Buddhist places as well as to collect the Vinaya texts for the restoration⁴ of practices of the Buddhist churches of China.

As a devout Buddhist Fa-Hsien visited important Buddhist holy places and institutions of North India. Thus his travel diary depicts a ~~xx~~ faithful picture of a part of Buddhist India and furnishes us with fractional but valuable data.

Fa-Hsien came to India by land-route. He reached India via Khotan and Kashghar. In the following lines he testifies that the Buddhists of those places used to study Indian manuscripts:-

"From this point travelling westwards, the nations that one passes through are all similar in this respect, except that the Tartar dialects spoken by them differ one from the other. At the same time, all those who have "left the family" (priests and

novices) study Indian books and Indian spoken languages." ⁵

Entering India from north-western part through Punjab and Mathura he entered the middle kingdom. In his diary he described the socio-religious traditions of the people of the middle kingdom with special reference to the maintenance of monasteries and the use of written endowment documents as follows:-

"From the date of Buddha's disappearance from the world, the kings, elders and gentry of the countries round about built shrines for making offerings to the priests and gave them land, houses, gardens with men and bullocks for cultivation. Binding title-deeds were written out and subsequent kings have handed these down one to another without daring to disregard them in unbroken succession to this day." ⁶

Further we get some interesting features of the then monastic life from his following account:-

"In places where priests reside, pagodas are built in honour of Sāriputra, Mughalan and Ananda (Buddhas to come) and also in honour of the Abhidharma, the Vinaya and the Sūtras (Divisions of the Buddhist canons)" ⁷. Buddhists texts were held in great esteem and stupas were erected at monasteries in honour of teachers as well as important texts. The teachers and

and students of these subjects - the Abhidharma, the Vinaya and the Sūtras ~~■~~ used to make offerings to the stupas.

Inspite of all these activities the oral tradition was still in force in many parts of Northern India and Fa-Hsien failed to obtain written records of the ⁸ Disciplines.

From Benaras the pilgrim came to Pāṭaliputra. At the Pāṭaliputra monastery he stayed for three years "learning to write and speak Sanskrit (or Pali) and copying out the Disciplines." ⁹ The Vinaya text found here was the most comprehensive and complete. He also obtained at the library of the Pāṭaliputra monastery extracts from the Abhidharma(the ~~philosophical portion~~ philosophical portion of the Canon) in about 6000 stanzas, a complete copy of the Ān? sūtra in 2500 stanzas as well as a roll of the Vāipulya Parinirvana in 5000 stanzas.

On his way back he stayed at Tamruk, the famous sea-port at the mouth of the Hooghly for a period of two years. During this time there were 24 monasteries with resident priests. Fa-Hsien spent his time ¹⁰ copying out Sūtras and drawing pictures of images.

From the account left by Fa-Hsien it is evidently clear that writing and copying of texts were not unknown in India in the 5th cy. A.D. The important Mahāyāna monasteries maintained their respective

libraries. Fa-Hsien worked for a long period in the libraries of Pataliputra and Tamruk monasteries and thus fulfilled his mission of collecting Buddhist texts for the Buddhist Sanghas of China.

What is the name of the library?

Libraries in the 7th Century A.D.

(Account of Hiuen-Tsang)

After Fa-Hsien the next important Chinese traveller who visited this country in 629-645 A.D. was Hiuen Tsang. He stayed in for sixteen years and the purpose of his visit was "to see its far famed shrines and all visible evidences of Lord Buddha's ministrations . . . to procure these books in original language and to learn the true meaning of their obscure doctrines from orthodox Pundits in India."¹¹

The narrative left by him is highly interesting and depicts an authentic picture of the socio-religious condition and monastic library developments of Northern India in between 629-645 A.D.

In the narrative he first stated a general description of India. While describing the written language and official records of the Hindus he proceeds to tell - "Their system of writing was invented, as is known, by the deva Brahmā who at the beginning instituted as patterns forty seven(written) words. These were combined and applied as objects arose and circumstances occurred; ramifying like streams they spread far and wide becoming modified a little by place and people"¹². These statements corroborate the fact that Sanskrit writing was prevalent at that



time and the people were used to preserve and maintain the official annals and state papers. The following lines will testify that not only they maintained the records and state papers but necessary provisions were made for systematic preservation. The description runs -

"As to their archives and records there are separate custodians of these. The official annals and state papers are called collectively ni-lo-pi-tu(or ch'n); in these good and bad are recorded and instances of public calamity and good fortune are set forth in detail."¹³

Further we get a glimpse of the then Bramhinical education and a very important statement regarding writing of the Vedas in manuscript form by the Buddhists¹⁴ who were converted Bramhins.

The Chinese pilgrim in course of his journey reached Gandhara and there he found nearly 1000 Buddhist monasteries in bad state of preservation. The great vihāra of Purushapura or Peswar built by Kaniska was a famous seat of learning. "From the time it was built it had yielded occasionally extraordinary men and the Arhats and Sastra makers by their pure conduct and perfect virtue were still are active influence."¹⁵

Here in this monastery Abhidharma-Kośa-Sāstra and Vibhāṣā-lun were composed by Vasubandhu and Manoratha and the chambers where they lived and composed the famous works were specially marked.

After visiting Udayana, Bolar and Taxila Hiuen-Tsang reached Kashmir. We come to know from his Life that on arrival there he spent one night at the Jayendra monastery. The next day he went to the palace on royal invitation and stayed there for two years. The king of Kashmir appointed some scores of Brethren with the illustrious Bhadanta at their head to wait on him. He also invited the pilgrim to read and expound the scriptures, gave him twenty clerks to copy¹⁶ out manuscripts and five men to act as attendants. These lines amply prove the existence of a splendid palace library of Kashmir. Reading of manuscripts was a regular feature and there was provision for copying them.

With reference to Kanishka's love for learning and regular reading habit he says - "This king of Gandhara was a great and powerful sovereign whose sway extended to many peoples. In his leisure hours he studied the Buddhist scriptures, having a monk every day in the palace to give him instruction"¹⁷.

King Kanishka was moved by the contradictory interpretations of the Buddhist texts. To make a true commentary he ordered collection of all available Tripitaka texts and invited all the important Buddhist scholars to a council. "This council composed 100,000 stanzas of Upadeśa śāstras explanatory of the canonical sūtras, 100,000 stanzas of Vinaya-

Vibhāṣhā-sāstras, explanatory of the Vinaya, 100,000 stanzas of Abhidharma-vibhāṣhā sāstras explanatory to the Abhidharma. For this exposition of the Tripitaka all learning from a remote antiquity was thoroughly examined, the general sense and the true language (of the scriptures) were again made clear and distinct, and the learning was widely ~~diffused~~ diffused for safe-guiding of disciples. King Kanishka had the treatises, when finished, written out on copper plates and enclosed these in stone boxes, which he deposited in a tope made for the purpose." ¹³

We thus find that there were important monasteries around the region known as Gandhara. These monasteries were centres of learning where scholars used to teach and compose new works and they invariably maintained their respective libraries. Besides these the kings and nobles also had their personal libraries. Hiuen-Tsang worked for two years in the royal library of Kashmir and the king graciously appointed twenty scribes to copy the manuscripts. Further reading of manuscripts was a practice in those days and even the kings like the medieval and modern aristocrats used to study the scriptures with the help of a reader. The reference to Kanishka's council and the collection of the texts ~~to~~ of Tripitaka for compilation of a distinct commentary strengthen the authenticity of the above facts.

It is to be noted that manuscript writing, their collections and presentations was a long continued practice and we read the accounts in the story of the past existences of an arhat when as an elephant he carried sacred books from East India to Kashmir.¹⁹

The pilgrim proceeding with his descriptions relates the history of the Jetavana monastery which was then in desolate ruin. Watters recovered the following account from the Chinese texts:-

"The original Jetavana monastery, which was probably neither very large nor substantial and was not well protected, was destroyed by fire in Buddha's life time. After the death of Sudatta, the place was neglected as there was no one to look after the grounds and buildings. A new vihāra was afterwards built on a greater scale but this also was burnt to the ground. At one time, we read, the place was utterly abandoned by the Buddhist Brethren and was used as the king's stables, but the buildings were again rebuilt and reoccupied by Buddhist monks. In its palmy days, before its final destruction and abandonment the Jetavana monastery must have been a very large and magnificent establishment There were chapels for preaching and halls for meditation, mass-rooms and chambers for the monks, bathhouses, a hospital, libraries and reading rooms with pleasant shady tank and

a great wall encompassing all. The libraries were richly furnished, not only with orthodox literature but also with Vedic and other non-Buddhistic works, and with treatises on the arts and sciences taught²⁰ in India at the time."

The monastic libraries, as is evidenced from the above description, had reading rooms attached to them and collected manuscripts on all branches of knowledge both religious and secular, arts and sciences. This liberal attitude of a monastery glorifies the aims and objects of the ancient libraries of India of which Jetavana monastic library was one.

Further the history of the Jetavana monastery answers the question - why there is acute dearth of material on the study of ancient Indian libraries. The Jetavana monastery and its library were once destroyed by fire and in the second time they were abandoned and due to lack of care were deserted and used as stables. This story was repeated again and again throughout the centuries all over India.

According to the Life the pilgrim visited the Śvetapur Monastery in the Vaiśālī country. In this monastery which had "bright coloured halls of two storeys" he obtained a copy of the Mahāyāna treatise²¹ - Bodhisattva -pitaka".

During his tour the Chinese pilgrim visited Southern Kosala(Vidharbha or Berar). There he found about one

hundred monasteries. Among them the Pigeon monastery of Fa-hsien "had cloisters and lofty halls. . . In the topmost hall Nāgārjuna deposited the scriptures of Sākyamuni Buddha and the writings of the Pusas . . ."

22

This description of the Pigeon monastery in Southern Kosala is a further corroboration of the fact that the monasteries by tradition maintained collections of manuscripts.

After sixteen years Hsien-Tsang returned home and brought with him besides many other things a large number of manuscripts which numbered 657 distinct texts in 520 cases . The texts are as follows:-

23

Sthaviravāda Sūtras and Sāstras and Vinaya	...	14	treatises
Mahāsaṅghika	...	15	"
Mahisāsaka	...	22	"
Samitiya	...	15	"
Kāśyapiya	...	17	"
Sarvāstivāda	...	67	"
Mahāyāna Sūtra	...	224	"
Mahāyāna Sāstra	...	192	"
Dharma Gupta	...	42	"
Hetu Vidya	...	36	"
Sabda Vidya	...	23	"

On returning back Hsien-Tsang maintained contact with the authorities of Nālandā and they used to exchange letters. The chinese pilgrim lost a bundle of manuscripts while shipwrecked in the Indus. In one

of his letters to Sthavira Prajñādeva he enclosed a list of lost manuscripts and requested him to send²⁴ them.

Not only from China but Buddhist pilgrims from Japan and Korea visited India for further study as well as for copying and collecting Buddhist texts. About fifty seven pilgrims from China, Japan and Korea visited India in between 629 A.D. and 681 A.D. with²⁵ the same mission.

Immediately after Hiuen-Tsang a Korean monk by the name of Aryavarman came to India. He was well versed in the Vinaya and Abhidhamma doctrines and copied many Sūtras at Nālandā. Two other Korean monks - Hwui Nich and Taou Hi came to Nālandā at the same time. The former studied there and wrote many Sanskrit works.²⁶ I-Tsing while living at Nālandā one day came across the library of this monk scholar²⁷ which consisted of Chinese and Sanskrit works. Taou Hi also lived some years at Nālandā where he studied the books on the Great Vehicle and wrote (or copied)²⁸ about 400 chapters on Sūtras.

In 665 A.D. during the reign of the T'ang emperor Nadi, a Sramana of Central India reached China with a rich collection of more than 1500 Mahāyāna²⁹ and Hinayana texts.

I-Tsing's account of libraries
in the 7th Cy.A.D.

and

the migration of Indian manuscripts
to China and other Eastern Countries.

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Stirred up by the great personalities of Fa-Hsien and Hiuen-Tsang the next important Chinese traveller who visited India with the purpose of studying the authentic Vinaya rules and to collect Buddhist manuscripts was I-Tsing. He reached India by the sea route in 672 A.D. and stayed thirteen years in India.

The travel diary of I-Tsing furnished us with valuable information to supplement the account of the monastic libraries as derived from the previous records left by Fa-Hsien and Hiuen-Tsang.

As he came from China by sea route he reached the port of Tāmralipti and stayed there for four months where he minutely observed the daily lives of the monks. During his time a Bhikṣu named A-ra-hu-la-mi-ta-ra (Rāhulamitra) was living in the monastery and he used to read Ratnākuta-sūtra every day, which contained 700 verses. The Bhikṣu was not only a master of the three collections of the scriptures but also thoroughly versed in the secular literature of the four.

With reference to the rules of ordination and behaviours between teacher and the taught I-Tsing

informs us that a student after knowing the larger Vinaya-pitaka reads the Sūtras and Śāstras.³¹ Thus reading was largely practised in the monasteries during the time of I Tsing and there were regular text books both for primary as well as specialized education.

Regarding the common properties of the Sangha and how the properties should be used he narrates as follows:-

Medical substances are to be kept in a consecrated store, to be supplied to sick persons when needed. Precious stones, gems and the like are divided into two portions, one being devoted to pious objects (Dhammika), the other to the priests own use (Sanghika). The former portion is spent in copying the scriptures and in building or decorating the "Lion-seat". The other portion is distributed to the priests who are present.

Wooden chairs are to be made common property. But the scriptures and their commentaries should not be parted with but be kept in the library to be read by the members of the order. Non-Buddhist books are to be sold and (the maney acquired) should be distributed³² among the priests then resident.

We can conclude from the above narration that monks at that time used to maintain their private libraries and besides these each monastery for the

use of members of the order used to maintain a general library.

After I-Tsing many Chinese pilgrims also visited India and among them Taou-Lin, a native of Kingchau (in Hupeh) studied Sanskrit three years at Tāmralipta and a few years he stayed at Nālandā for study of Kosa.³³

Tan-Kwang, the next pilgrim came by sea-route and reached Arakan. He received the patronage of the king, who had a Buddhist temple built, books written and images of Buddha made. After him Hinen-Ta reached Tāmralipti. He came to Nālandā for further study and on his way back home he carried all his books and translations about 1000 volumes.³⁴

In 759 A.D. U-K'ong (Dharmadhatu), a chinese pilgrim reached Kashmir via Central Asia. He stayed at Nālandā for ten years. He returned to China in 790 A.D. and brought with him the Sanskrit texts of the Dasabhumī and Dasabala Sūtras and other works.³⁵

Between 964 and 976 A.D. the Chinese emperor sent a body of three hundred monks under the leadership of Ki-ne to India in search of Buddhist relics and Indian palm leaf manuscripts.³⁶

In about 969 A.D. a Buddhist priest of India brought some Sanskrit books and envoys continued to bring them from thence.³⁷ In 996 A.D. a batch of Indian priests who arrived in ships as far as the

month of the river (che-gan) bringing to the emperor a brass bell, a copper bell, a statue of Buddha and some Fan(Indian) books written upon leaves of the pei-to tree(palm leaf)³⁸. The next group from Western Yin-too came to China between 1025 and 1031 A.D.³⁹ and brought Fan books as presents.

The last year in which a Hindu monk came from India was 1053. Che-Kisiang, a sraman of West India came in that year with his companions bringing probably the last book to China.⁴⁰

In this chapter the patterns and characters of traditional monastic libraries and the story of the migration of India manuscripts to China and other eastern countries were discussed. These historical evidences prove beyond doubt that since early times India maintained the tradition of writing, copying and producing manuscripts and as a result there must have grown innumerable private and institutional libraries all over India.

Libraries
attached to important centres of
education in Eastern and Central India.

The Buddhists of India like the Benedictines of Europe placed special emphasis on writing manuscripts and their collections. The Jains and Hindus also made their respective contributions in the field of learning. They patronised education and literary activities, established innumerable upāśrayas and temple colleges. From the archaeological as well as literary evidences it is clear that all these institutions maintained their respective libraries.

Buddhist monastic institutions of Nālandā, Vallabhi, Vikramasīlā, Odantapuri etc. attained great reputation and became important centres of advanced learning in India. These institutions, besides teaching, encouraged writing, diting and translating manuscripts as well as propagated Indian culture in far off countries. All these institutions maintained suitable libraries to facilitate the studies of thousands of students both Indian and foreign.

Besides the Buddhist institutions, ~~cultural~~ Hindu rulers like Bhoja and Udayāditya of Malwa and centres of Bramhinical culture like Mithilā took great initiative in establishing libraries.

Here we shall discuss about the libraries attached to important centres of education in Eastern and Central India as Nālandā, Odantipura, Vikramśilā, Somāpuri, Jagaddal and Mithilā as well as libraries of Western India like Vallabhi, Kanheri and Bhoja's imperial library.

NĀLANDĀ:

Among the reputed centres of Buddhist learning and teaching of Central and Eastern India Nālandā occupied a unique place and played a dynamic part in the field of ancient Indian education. Nālandā, which is about 40 miles to south-west of Patna was an unimportant village in the beginning of 5th cy. A.D. The continuous patronage by the Gupta emperors as well as by the Pāla and Sena rulers of Eastern India largely contributed to the rapid growth and development of this university.

During the time when Hiuen-Tsang visited the place the establishment was in its full glory and there were about 5000 students studying there, I-Tsing also lived at Nālandā (675 A.D.) and during his time the university was a reputed centre of learning and there were more than 3000 monks residing in the establishment.

Students from all parts of India as well as from foreign countries like China, Korea, Tibet etc. used to get admitted and the standard of

admission test was very high.

According to the Tibetan accounts Nālandā was equipped with a well maintained and huge library called Dharmagañja or Peity Mart.⁴¹ It consisted of three huge buildings called (1) Ratnasāgara (2) Ratnadadhi and (3) Ratnarañjaka. Among them Ratnadadhi was ~~was~~ a nine storied building which housed the sacred manuscripts - Prajñapāramita Sūtra and Tantric works such as Samājguhya etc.

The University was at ~~at~~ its highest reputation and international glory in the 9th cy. A.D. From the Nālandā copper-plate grant of Devapāla Deva⁴² we come to know that Devapāla Deva in compliance with the request of the ruler of Suvarṇadīpa (Java) Balaputradeva which was made through an ambassador, granted five villages, four of which lay in the Rājagriha (Rājgir) and one in the Gaya District of Śrī Nagar Bhukti (Patna Division) for the increase of merit and fame of his parents and himself and for the sake of income toward the blessed Lord Buddha, for various comforts of the revered Bhiksus of the four quarters and for writing the Dharma ratnas or Buddhist texts, for the three jewels and for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nālandā at the instance of the said king of Suvarṇadīpa."

From the above evidence it is clear that the king of Java and Sumatra being attracted by the

magnificence of the university erected a monastery there and induced the king of Bengal-Devapāla to grant five villages towards its maintenance. It is interesting to note that there was the regular practice of copying manuscripts as a partion of the said gift was made reserved for copying manuscripts of the university library (Dharmaratnasya lekhanārtham).

Towards the close of the 12th cy. A.D. the university and its magnificent library were destroyed by the Muslim invaders. According to the Tibetan sources the temples and monasteries of Nālandā were repaired by a sage called Mudita-bhadra after the Furushka invasion had passed off. But the final destruction was brought about by living embers thrown into the establishment by two very indignant Tirthaka mendicants, who were insulted by some young novices at Nālandā. This conflagration consumed Ratnadadhi.

Vikramśilā:

King Dharmapāla founded the Vikramśilā monastery in the 8th Cy. A.D. which was a reputed centre of learning for more than four centuries. It was situated 24 miles to the east of Bhāgalpur, Bihar. ⁴⁴

The fame of the university attracted students from all parts of India and a large number of scholars from Tibet. From the Tibetan sources we come to know that Buddha, Jñānapāda, Virochana, Rakshita, Jetāri, Ratnākara Sānti, Jñāna-śrī-mitra, Ratnavajra, Abhayankaragupta, Tathāgata-Rakshita and other scholars of this university wrote numbers ^{of} manuscripts in Sanskrit and translated many of them into Tibetan. ⁴⁵ The most famous scholar of Vikramśilā Dipankar Śrī-Jñāna wrote nearly 200 volumes and went to Tibet on the invitation of Tibetan king Chan Chub to reform Buddhism of that country. ⁴⁶

From the same sources we further know that in the 12th cy. A.D. there were 3000 scholars residing at Vikramśilā and there was a splendid library attached to it.

Like many other libraries and educational centres of India Vikramśilā university and its library were destroyed by the mohamadens under Bakhatiyar Khilje who seemed to have mistaken it

for a fort.

Regarding the library of the university we gather the following information from the author of *Tabakāt-i-Nāsari* -

"There were great number of books on the religion of Hindu (Buddhists) there; and when all these books came under the observation of the Mussalmans, they summoned a number of Hindus that they might give them information respecting the import of these books; but the whole of the Hindus had been killed. On becoming (with the contents of these books) it was found that the whole of that fortress and city was a college and in the Hindu tongue, they call a college a Bihāra or Vihāra"⁴⁷

Odantapuri:

The Odantapuri university probably near the town of Bihārshariff, existed long before the Pāla kings came to power in Magadha. This university was also a reputed centre of learning and it served as a model for the first Tibetan monastery Bsam-ye which was built in 749 A.D. under the supervision of the great Buddhist author Santarakshita.⁴⁸

The possession of Magadha by Mahipāla I gave them mastery over the Mahāvihāra Odantapuri and these kings expanded the university by endowing it with a good library of Buddhist and Brahminical works.⁴⁹

The destructive fury of the conquests of Muhammad Bakhatiyar Khilji destroyed this monastic university and the Turko-Afgans raised a fortress on the site of the University.⁵⁰

Somāpuri:

The university of Somāpuri (Pāhārpur in North Bengal) occupied a position like Vikramasīlā of Nagadha since the days of Dharmapāla (769-827 A.D.). Atisa Dipankar lived here and translated into Tibetan in collaboration with other scholars the Madhyamakaratna-pradīpa of Bhāvavivēka. This university like Vikramasīlā and Nālandā maintained its own library. In the middle of the 11th c. A.D. this university was destroyed by fire. It was renovated by monk Vipulśrimitra but it failed to regain its former glory.⁵¹

Jaggadal:

About this time king Rāmpāla who reigned between 1024 to 1130 A.D. established the Jaggadal monastery in Varendra, North Bengal in the city of Rāmavati. This university produced many reputed scholars and authors like Mahāpandita Vibhūtiśandra, author and translator of a large number of Vajrayāna and Kālachakrayāna works; Dānashīla, the famous author of Tantric Buddhism and translator of about fifty works into Tibetan; Mokṣakara Gupta, the logician,

52

Subhakar Gupta, Dharmakar Gupta etc. According to the then pattern of educational institutions this university, a centre of great scriptural activity, possessed a magnificent collection of manuscripts.

From the travel diaries of the Chinese pilgrims it is evidently clear that there were innumerable monasteries all over India and we have discussed previously the nature and character of those monastic libraries.

Among the many other less known Vihāras of Bengal of the 11th and 12th Cy. A.D. Devikata in North Bengal and Pandita vihāra in the Chittagong district of East Bengal deserves special mention as seats of Buddhist learning and culture.

53

Besides teaching there were regular provisions in these institutions for writing, editing and translating manuscripts and this necessarily involved the existence of libraries and efforts for their preservation in line with the tradition of other contemporary universities.

54

Mithilā:

Mithilā, a centre of Bramhinical culture of high antiquity flourished again during the rule of Karnāṭaka dynasty (1150-1395) and Kamesvara dynasty which ruled between c. A.D. 1350-1515. This centre of learning produced remarkable scholars like

Jagaddhara, Gaṅgeśha, Vardhamāna, Śankara Mishra, Vāchaspati Mīśra etc. Jagaddhara wrote commentaries on a variety of texts, the Gītā, Devī Mahātmya, Meghadūta, Gita Govinda, Mālatī Mādhava etc. and original treatises on Erotics, such as Rasika-Sarvasva-Saṅgita-Sarvasva; Gaṅgeśha, the founder of the Navya Nyāya school wrote the monumental work "Tattva-Chintāmoni", Śankara Mīśra added to the list several learned works on Nyāya and Ethics and Mīśra Mīśra wrote an original book on Vaiśeṣika known as "Padārtha Chandra".⁵⁵

Thus Mithilā developed in keeping with the then tradition, a very important library and it rigidly guarded all the manuscripts with special love and care. They were so passionately in love with the manuscripts that they did not allow the students to take back their class notes and copies of manuscripts done with them after completion of their study. Later Nadiā maintained this tradition.

Vāsudeva, the founder of the New school of Logic of Nadiā after completion of his study at Mithilā committed to memory the entire books Tattva Chintāmoni and Kusumāñjali (the metrical part) as he was not permitted to take back with him the copies of he made during his study period at Mithilā. Thus by enforcing the practice of preserving manuscripts, for some reasons or other, Mithilā developed a very good collection of manuscripts.

Further manuscripts formed an important feature of the final examination of Mithilā. They introduced a process of examination known as Śalākhā Parīkshā by which an examinee had to explain any page of a manuscript which was pierced last by a needle.⁵⁶

Mithilā maintained its all India importance till the end of 15th Cy. A.D.

Libraries attached to
important centres of
education in Western India:

Like Northern and Eastern India there were innumerable monasteries and Maths all over Western India. Among them the Mahāvihāra of Vallabhi which was situated on the western coast of India near modern Wala in Kathiwar and the Kanheri monastery deserve special mention.

Vallabhi:

The Mahāvihāra of Vallabhi flourished under the royal patronage of the Maitraka kings during 475 to 775 A.D. and did maintain a high reputation and attracted ~~sehel~~ scholars from all parts of India. 57 As Nalanda specialised in Mahāyāna this university was famous in the 7th cy. for its Hinayāna courses of study. Besides religious training and education it also provided for secular subjects like Silpavidyā(Art) Abhidharmakosa(Metaphysics), Cikitsāvidyā(Medicine) Hetuvidyā(Logic) and probably Arithmetic. From the statement of Hiuen-Tsang we come to know that Sthiramati and Gunamati were once in charge of the monastery which consisted of "some hundred Sanghārāmas with about 6000 priests." 58 Each of these Sanghārāmas was like a separate college.

It is very natural that such a reputed centre of learning had an well equipped library. This is corroborated by the grant of Guhasena dated A.D. 559 where we find a provision is made out of the royal grant for the purchase of books for the library (Saddharamasya Pustakepachyartham)⁵⁹ .

After the Maitrakas the university was paralysed for some time due to Arab attack but the successors of Maitrakas continued their support. Thus this university maintained its tradition attracting students from distant Bengal down to the 12th cy. A.D.⁶⁰

Kanhery :

Kanhery monastery, the other important centre of learning on the West coast considerably flourished in the 9th cy. A.D. during the reign of Amoghavarsha. Being attracted by the fame of the institution people from Bengal used to visit the place and made suitable grants for the establishment as well as for the library attached to it.

Epigraphical sources inform us that Gomin Avighnakara, a devout worshippier of the Sugata came there from the Gauda country and made suitable endowments for the development of this institution." Out of the great kindness twenty (Drammas) to please the illustrious holy one, three (drammas) for the repair of what may be damaged or ruined here in this monastery. For clothes of a worshipful community five

(Drammas) shall be expended - for books one Drama.⁶¹
The perpetual endowment amounts to forty Drammas"

The inscription records the errection of some buildings at Kanheri and the grant of certain sums of money to be expended for the benefit of the resident monks of the monastery. Library had an important position within the establishment and the donor did not forget to allocate some money for the purchase of books for the library.

The Imperial collections of Manuscripts.

From the earliest times the kings and nobles of India patronised education and encouraged writing manuscripts and their preservation. The tradition continued uninterrupted till the 19th century when the princes of native states like Alwar, Bikaner, Jammu, Mysore, Tanjore etc. maintained their respective manuscript libraries.

Kashmir:

We have previously discussed about the royal library of Kashmir where Hiuen-Tsang worked for two years. The king of Kashmir appointed twenty scribes to copy manuscripts of the royal library for the Chinese pilgrim.

Kāmrupa (Assam):

In the 7th cy. A.D. Kāmrupa (Modern Assam) produced a very ambitious king Bhāskaravarman who was a great patron of learning. Bhāskaravarman's close association with Harshavardhana of Kanauj and the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang led to his association with the famous Buddhist university - Nālandā.

From the Harsha-Charita of Bana we find a list of presents which Bhāskaravarman sent to Harshavardhana through his trusted envoy Hangshavega. The list

included among many other precious things volumes of fine writing with leaves made of Sāchi bark and of the hue of the ripe pink cucumber. (Agaru valka Kalpita sancayani subhāsitaḥhanjit pustakāni parinīta patala potolavimsi). Thus we can conclude from the above evidence that in ancient India library intercourse and gift of manuscripts were commonly used as token of friendship between two states.

Malwa:

This history of the Paramara kings of Malwa (10th and 11th cy. A.D.) furnishes us with another distinguished case of royal patronage to education. The kings were great bibliophiles and during this time Malwa became famous for her literary and cultural activities.

Special mention should be made of king Bhoja who ruled from 1018 to 1060 A.D. He was himself an author of great reputation⁶² and encouraged learned men and seekers after knowledge.⁶³

During this time many educational institutions were established in Malwa. King Bhoja founded a college(modern Kamalmavla Mosque) at Dhara, the capital city and caused the image of Vāgdevī to be erected in 1033 A.D.⁶⁴ Even to-day the Kamalmaula mosque is known to the public as Bhojaśālā or Bhoja's school which contains charts depicting alphabets

and rules of grammar. In the same building the king established his famous library which ~~xxxxx~~ contained the works of kings, poets and scholars of Malwa. In 1160 A.D. king Siddharāja Jayasimha conquered Malwa and transferred the royal library to Anhilvad.⁶⁵

In keeping with the tradition in 1059 A.D. Udayāditya built the beautiful Nilkanthesvara temple at Udaypur and established a library here. In the library there were arrangements made for reading the manuscripts.

Udayāditya built besides the main temple four smaller temples on the four corners of the courtyard and four square vedis for reading "Vedas" in, one of the middle of each side of the courtyard. "Each hall for reading Vedas is a square building, the roof of which is supported by four massive pillars. The ceiling is, as usual, built of overlapping stones. There are four balconies, one on each side of the hall, two of which are closed with massive trellises. Each of these balconies is provided with a raised slab of stone which served as a seat for the reader."⁶⁶

The corner temples and reading halls were partly destroyed by Muhammad Tugluq who erected a mosque in their place.

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CHAPTER II

Libraries of Western and Southern India

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Libraries
of
Western India
(Jñān Bhāndārs)

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The foregoing accounts show that Western India was an important centre of learning since the ancient times and there were many monastic-cum-educational institutions, some of them had attained great reputation.

During the Maitraka rule (from 5th to 8th century A.D.) Western India became a stronghold of the Jains and a scene of great scriptural activities. The period extending from the ninth to the thirteenth century of the Christian era was marked by a vigorous outburst of literary activity on the part of the Jaina writers. During this age works in various branches of literature both religious and secular were written by a host of authors and as a result innumerable libraries were established at Jaisalmere, Pattan, Surat, Cambay, Ahmedabad, Dholkar, Karnavati, Vijapur etc. These libraries were known as Jñāna Bhāndārs or Store-houses of knowledge.

It is stated in the ~~Jax~~ Jaina Chitra Kalpadruma that as a result of a terrible famine which occurred in the 5th cy. A.D. Jain libraries grew up in order to fulfil the void caused by the death of a large number

of Jaina monks who were the custodians of the Jaina sacred literature. A council of the Jaina monks was called in Vira Samvat 980 (i.e. 453 or 513 A.D.) at Vallabhipur in Kathiwar to arrange the writings of the Jaina sacred lores and other literature. The council was presided by Devardhigani-Kshma-Sramana¹.

This event is known as "Pustakārohana of the Jaina Agamas" or reduction of the Jaina canon.² This event marked with the end of the dark period of Jainism in Northern India and the canonical and other literature of the Jains were put into writing where Sramana Devardhigani stands like a light house to end darkness of the unrecorded period and ushered a new age of library development all over Western India.

This terrible experience compelled the Jaina scholars to give up the practice of transmitting knowledge orally when it was realised that manuscript writing of the canonical and other literature literatures was absolutely necessary. Thus during the Maitraka rule Western India was pulsating with scriptural activities. Scholars like Dhaneśvarasūri, the author of *Satrūnjaya-Mahātmya*; Jitāyasa, the author of the commentary on *Visrānta-Visyādhavarava*; Yaksha, the author of *Nimittastānga Bodhini*; Malla who wrote *Nāyachakra* and others composed, edited and translated innumerable Jaina manuscripts. Further to encour-

-rage reading habit it was made compulsory in the Jaina monasteries that the monk should read Jaina scriptures at least three hours a day.³

Further from the eulogies of the ancient Jaina manuscripts, historical biographies such as Dharmabhyudaya-mahākāvya, Prabhāvaka, Kumārpālāprabandha, Sukratsamgraha Kāvya, Upadeśha Taranginī, Kumārpālārāsa, Vāstupāla Tejapālārāsa etc. it is evidently clear that the Jaina Sramanas have accepted the all pervading convention of preaching for the development of their libraries. Thus all the people of the society who craved for fame were attracted towards this activity. To educate the people the Ujamānū and Jñānpujā festivals were introduced. Thus the infusion of a spirit of piety and religiousness was among the important factors which contributed to the educational and cultural development of Western India.

In the history of the Jaina library movement the names of two monarchs Siddharāja Jāyasingadeva (1094-1143 A.D.) and Sri Kumārpāladeva (1143-1174 A.D.) will remain ever famous. During this time Pattan, the capital city became a great centre of library activities and it continued its tradition till the 16th cy. A.D.

Sri Siddharāja had appointed three hundred scribes

who were engaged in writing manuscripts on each branch of philosophy. It was this king who ordered for 1,25,000 copies of Siddhahema- Vyākaraṇa to be presented to the students. The Prabhāva-Charita and Kumārpāla Prabandha abound with references.

In the Tapāgachha Jain library of Pattan only one illustrated manuscript of Siddhahemavyākaraṇa Laghuvritti written on palm leaves was found. The illustrations of the said manuscript corroborate the facts stated in the Prabhāva-Charita. One of them has a sentence reading - "A teacher teaches the grammar to the students" with a pictorial representation of the same.

Moreover, Siddharāja-Jayasimha on the conquest of Malwa (about 1140 A.D.) transferred to Anhilvad the royal library of King Bhoja^{of} Dhara and there it was amalgamated with the court library of the Chalukyas. The Bhārati-Bhāṇḍagāras of the Chalukya Viśāldeva or Viśvamalla (1242-1262 A.D.) furnished, according to an unpublished Prasasti, the copy of the Naisadhiya, on which Vidyadhara wrote the first commentary of the poem, and the manuscript of Kāmā sūtra, according to which Jāsodhara composed his Jayamangalatikā. One of the manuscripts of the Rāmāyana in the library of the university of Bonn has been derived from a copy of Viśāldeva's collection.⁴

It is said that king Śrī Kumārpāla Deva established 21 big libraries or treasure houses of knowledge and ordered to write golden lettered manuscripts of which there is a reference in Kumārpāla Prabandha and Upadesha Tarangini.

Among the Jain ministers interested in the activity of writing books - the name of Śrī Vāstupāla-Tājpāla, Pathadashah and Madanmantri are famous. Besides them the other ministers who also inspired the manuscript writing activities and establishment of Jain treasure houses of knowledge are Vimalshah, Amar Bhatta, Vāg Bhatta and Karamashah. Vāstupāla established three big libraries at the cost of 18 crores.

The active interest of kings and princes stimulated the elite of the society who also took active interest in furthering the cause of establishing libraries.

We have already mentioned that religious fanaticism ^{or} and sectarian jealousy was an important factor in the destruction of ancient Indian libraries. Here in relation to the libraries of Pattan we find a concrete case which corroborates the statement.

Ajayapāla, the successor of Kumārpāla being a hater of Jainism tried to destroy all traces of the religion. Apprehending the danger of the priceless

Jain libraries Udayana, the minister and others tried to transfer the manuscripts from Pattan to Jesalmere and other places. Whatever is preserved to-day at Jesalmere are the remanants of the palm-leaf manuscripts transferred from Pattan.

Many of the Jain libraries founded by Vāstu-⁷ pāla were ruthlessly destroyed by the Mohemadans. At the end of the 13th century when Guzrat passed into the hands of the Muhamadans many valuable collections of manuscripts were burnt as a result of the devatations caused by the Mlecchas.⁸ Hindu fanatics also joined hands and burnt Jain collection of manuscripts.⁹

Last but not the least since the time of Col. Tod Guzrat particularly Pattan became the centre of attraction for manuscript haunters. Being lured by money the keepers of the libraries sold their collections. As a result many of the Jain manuscripts have gone to the foreign countries and to other provinces of India.¹⁰

But inspite of so many vicitudes even today there are many important private collections in Guzrat, Rajputana and also in Pattan.

A list of the existing Pattan libraries based

on the information as supplied by Sri Lālchānd Bhagavāndās Gāndhi in his descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in the Jain Bhāndārs of Pattan is given below:-

1. The Sanghavi's Pādā collection which belongs to the Laghuposālika branch of the Tapāgaccha. The collection contains 413 palm-leaf Mss.
2. The collection of 2688 paper Mss. and 137 palm leaf Mss are deposited in Vakhatajis Seri, Fefalia Vādā. It is the largest collection at Pattan.
3. The collection of 744 paper Mss and 4 palm-leaf Mss. preserved in Vādi Rā Pārshanāth's temple. The paper Mss. are copies of the old palm leaf Mss. and they are translated about 1480 - 1490 Samvat under the orders of the then existing pen-tiff of Kharatara Gaccha.
4. 3035 paper Mss. 22 palm-leaf Mss. and one (1) cloth Mss. in the collection of Āgaliseri. The collection contains the sacred books of the Jainas and many Mss. of Jaina Rāsās in old Guzrati.
5. The Sāgar's Upāśraya collection and the Bhāvā Sāgar collection contains 1309 and 108 Mss. respectively.
6. The Makā Modi collection consists of 230 paper and 2 palm leaf Mss. Dr. Kilhora purchased in the year 1880-91 A.D. 75 palm leaf Mss. for the Bombay Govt. which previously belonged to the above collection. Now the collection is amalgamated with that of

Sāgar's Upāśraya.

7. The library at Bhābha's Pādā contains 522 and 1814 = 2336 paper Mss.
8. The Vastā Manek collection at present amalgamated with Sāgar's Upāśraya contains 521 Mss.
9. The Khetarvasi collection contains 76 palm-leaf Mss.
10. The Mahāluxmi's Pādā collection contains 8 palm leaf Mss. and few paper Mss. One of them a copy of an anthology by Lakshmana.
11. The Advasi's Pādā collection contains 2 palm leaf Mss. and some paper Mss.
12. The private collection of Himmatvijayaji (11)
13. The paper Mss of Lāvanyavijayaji.

A critical study of the Jain Bhāndārs shows that they not only contained religious literature but also manuscripts of other faiths and of varied subjects. The detailed study of the library systems of the Jains regarding problems of administration, methods of preservation and the materials used for writing will be discussed in the following chapters.

The manuscripts of Jain Bhāndārs which vary from 36" x 2½" to 4½" x 1½" in sizes were mostly written during the reigns of Siddharāja, Kumārpāla, Vāsāldeva and Sarangadeva. The oldest dated manuscript so far found belongs to 1062 A.D. & but earlier undated manuscripts were also found. The latest palm-leaf

manuscript is dated 1497 A.D.

Thus it can be safely said that like Buddhism, Jainism also largely contributed to the growth and development of libraries of Western India and passionately encouraged writing and reading of manuscripts on a large scale. Jainism failed to produce important educational centres like Nālandā and Vikramśilā but through festivals like Jñānpujā and Ujjananū they tried to democratise knowledge and later encouraged imparting education through monasteries.

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Libraries
of
South India
(Saraswati Bhāndārs)

South India has been one of the most dynamic historical regions of the past but from the earliest times she maintained the fundamental unity of Indian culture. In the field of education and learning she also followed the characteristic Indian spirit and pattern and produced innumerable centres of learning.

All these centres attached to Buddhist Vihāras, Jain Pallis and Hindu Maths played important part in propagating knowledge and culture and all these institutions had their "libraries of books in all branches of learning which were being copied from time to time."¹

It is however from the 10th cy. onward the Hindu Maths or temple colleges became the chief centres of higher education. The innumerable temple colleges which flourished during this time were financially aided by property grants made by the kings, nobles and other public benefactions.² The heads of the Maths (Mathā-dipatis, Mudaliyārs or Jiyārs) were used to supervise the properties and were responsible for their proper functioning.

Both epigraphical and literary evidences amply furnish us with detailed information about the administrative set-up, hospital and library arrangements of these temple colleges as well as of other educational institutions like Ghatikā, Agrahār and Bramhapūri.

The existence of libraries known as Saraswati Bhāndārs, Saraswati Mahals or Pustaka - Bhāndārs is an established fact and they became indispensable parts of educational centres of South India.

South Indian inscriptions No. 277 of 1918 as well as 604,671 and 695 of 1916 record various grants in temple colleges. Inscription No. 277 of 1913 recorded that an endowment was made for 108 learned Brahmin families with a provision for a library while inscription No.679 of 1916 referred to a donation for a library of temple college at Tinnevely district.

The copper plate grant of king Trailokyamalla, a western Chalukyan ruler (1058 A.D.) furnishes us with detailed information regarding this educational institution founded and maintained at Nāgai with the help of the royal patronage.³ It was a residential institution with provision for boarding and lodging of teachers and the students and was equipped with a library in charge of six librarians (Saraswati Bhāndārikas). The inscription further furnishes us with the following details regarding

distribution of land as it should be:-

"35 mattar of land under the dam at Aratura and Digavige (lower Cave) at Nagavavi), to the expounder of Bhattadarsana, 30 mattar of land to the expounder of Nyāsa, 45 mattar to the expounder of Prabhākara and 30 mattar to each librarian,". The above piece of information is a valuable data regarding the pay and status of the librarian and his place in a centre of learning. They also manned the institutions along with the teaching staff and their pay was not much less than those of teachers. These are the facts which prove that librarians of the Sarasvati-Bhāndāras occupied a dignified and honoured position in the temple colleges and other cultural and education institutions.

The inscription in the Ranganātha temple at Śrīrangam describes the instalment of three images of Sarasvatī, Veda Vyāsa Bhagavān and Hayagrīva in the Mandapa by the side of the library.⁴ It further states that Nilakantha Nāyaka of Pālappalli was responsible for the installation. This Nilakantha was a contemporary of Vīra Rāmanātha.⁵ (1269 A.C.)

The Pustaka bhāndāras or numerous collections of manuscripts which have been found in the Mathas, ghatikas and pāthasālas testify to the fact that all these institutions maintained their respective libraries. This is further corroborated by the inscription in the Arutala Perumal temple at Little Conjeevaram

dated Vikara, Mesha Sudi Prathama (29th March, 1359).⁶
 where we find that one Vaishnava Dāsa who was invested with the title-Brahmatantra Svatantra-Jiyar by God, was directed to establish a Matha with necessary provision for a library. To meet the expenses necessary lands were granted. The following expression

"eva tedina postakāṅglaṁ vendum upakaranangalum"⁷
 shows that arrangements were made for proper upkeep of the library. Here "Postakāṅglaṁ" means manuscript bundles and "Upakaranangalum" stands for other requirements for making a library.

The following extract from the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1936-37 pages 81-82. will show the keen interest that was taken by the kings for the renovation and proper upkeep of a library belonging to a matha at Sringeri.

"A record ~~for~~ from Vantyaḷa, a hamlet of Perdurū in South Kanara District, belongs to Bukka, son of Harihara II, and is dated in Saka 1328, Vyaya(1406 A.D.) August. The king is stated to have been ruling from Vijayanagara, while his governor at Bārakūrū was Bāchappa of Goa. This Bāchappa or Bāchanna-Oḍḍya was a governor of Mangaḷūrū and Bārakūrū rājyās for three years under Devarāya I(Inscription No.609 of 1929-30). The present inscription records a ~~fi~~ gift of the village Bramhāra in Bārakūrūnādu and certain incomes from other villages including Kanyāna, Pentama and

Belamji to Purāṇika Kavi Kṛishṇa-Bhaṭṭa of Śringeri, for the renovation and maintenance of a library (Pustakabhāndara) belonging to the Śringeri matha, when Narasimha-Bhārati Voḍeya of Śringeri who probably succeeded Vidyāranya-tīrtha, was its protiff. This guru referred to as the donee in another record (No.369 of 1927) from the Kundapur taluk dated in the same year Kavi Kṛishṇa-Bhatta's son named Kavi Śankara-Bhaṭṭa figures in another record (No.284) from the same village dated in Śaka 1354, Virodhikṛit(A.D. 1431) which registers or gift of land made by him by chaudapa, governor of Bārakūru and Tulu rājyas, under the order of the king. Devarāya-Mahārāya ruling from Vijayanagara. This governor is already known from other records copied in this locality. It is learnt that the descendants of this Kavi Kṛishṇa-Bhatta have been in charge of the Pujā of the Sivalinga installed at the place where Vidyātīrtha, the guru of Vidyaratna, attained samādhi".

The above extract clearly says that King Bukka Mahārāja in the Śaka 1328, Vyaya, i.e. 1406 A.D. August gave some villages to Purāṇika Kavi Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭa for the renovation and maintenance of the library attached to Śringeri matha. The above information further furnishes us with the names of the librarian. One is Kavi Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭa and other is his son by the name of Kavi Śankara Bhaṭṭa referred to in another inscription from the same village dated ~~Saka~~

Śaka 1354, Virodhikrit (1431 A.D.).

Dr. Burnell described the Tanjore Mahārāja Sarabhoji's Sarasvatī Mahal Library to be perhaps the largest and most important in the world.⁸ The unique and rich library was till recently the private property of the Rājās of Tanjore.

The Telegu Nāyakas who ruled Tanjore in the 16th and 18th centuries were great patrons of learning and they started the library by collecting the sanskrit Mss. written in Telegu character. The library increased in volume when the Maharathas conquered the country in the 18th century. Tanjore Mahārāja Sarabhoji though deprived of his sovereignty in 1799 made his court the centre of cultural activities and greatly patronized the library. He added valuable collections during a visit to Benaras in 1820 to 1830. The valuable Mss. collection of Jambunāth Bhatt, a Maharāṭṭa Brahmin of Tanjore and his scholarly family was added to it in 1921.

From the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99, I quote the following details about Jambunātha's collection:-

"He is the eldest of the three brothers and is descended from a family whose influence is reported to have been very great when the Maharāṭha Kingdom of Tanjore was in existence. When manuscripts were obtained for the Palace Library from Benaras and other

places in Northern India, the ancestors of Jambunātha Bhatta appear to have systematically used their influence to make their collection of Sanskrit works. This accounts for the existence ~~of~~ in this collection of a large number of ancient manuscripts evidently copied in Northern India. The texts were transcribed by the members of the family, who appear to have been learned men. This, according to the present owner of this library, was how this collection came into existence. The manuscripts are all written in Nagari characters and on loose sheets of paper."

Regarding the ~~xx~~ rich collection of the Sarasvati Mahal library greatly patronized by Sarabhoji we gather the following interesting records from the writings of Mr. Robinson who accompanied Bishop Heber to Tanjore.

"The Rājāh received us in his library; a noble room with three rows of pillars and handsomely furnished. On one side there are portraits of the Marātha dynasty from Shāhji to Sivāji, ten book cases containing a fair collection of French, English, German, Greek and Latin books and two others of Marātha and Sanskrit manuscripts. In the adjoining room is an air pump, an electrifying machine, an ivory skeleton, astronomical instruments, and several other cases of books, many of which are on the subject of medicine,

which for some years was his favourite study."⁹

In 1922 the collection was further supplemented by very rare additions known as "Kagalkar" and the "Patanga Avadhuta" collections made by Kagalkar and Patangaavadhuta families of Tanjore.

"The former is about 150 and the latter, about 100 years old. The collection made by the Kagalkar Family of learned Sanskrit Scholars of Tanjore especially versed in Sanskrit Grammar contains the autograph copies made by some of them of the works composed by themselves and others. Its prominent feature is the collection of works on Sanskrit Grammar. The collection made by Patangavadhuta whose descendant settled at Tiruvadamardur in Tanjore, District contains a large number of works on Vedānta and Bhakti. Both these collections comprise several Manuscripts which do not already exist in this library.

The attention of the Government of India and through it of the Government of Madras was directed in 1868 to the importance of the examination, purchase or transcription of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Indian Libraries and the framing of printed lists or catalogues of the same. (Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department(Public), No.4338-48, dated Simla, 3rd November, 1868.)

In respect of magnitude as well as the range of

subjects dealt with not to speak of the diversity of languages employed, the Tanjore Library is probably second to none among Oriental Libraries in India." ¹⁰

Through untiring efforts made by learned scholar Dr. Burnell "A classified index to the Sanskrit Mss. in the palace at Tanjore was published (3 parts) in between 1878-80 in London. Previously Mr. Pickford, Professor of Sanskrit started cataloguing the manuscripts but ~~he~~ due to ill health he left this country in 1870. Dr. Burnell's catalogue is now the only guide of the Tanjore Library yet it is not complete. He omitted entering in his catalogue about 4,000 manuscripts.

The total number of manuscripts of this library is likely to be 25,000. Besides there are also books in European languages. The manuscripts of this collection are written in about eleven alphabets and are either on palm leaf or on paper.

Regarding the importance of the library Dr. Burnell wrote the following to the Government of Madras in 1873 -

"It may perhaps be asked if the library is worth the labour spent on it. I can answer unhesitatingly that it is. It is now a recognised fact that nearly all Sanskrit works of importance exist in different recensions. The Tanjore library is

unrivalled in this respect; it contains several good manuscripts of all the most important ones known as yet, including a few that are now new . . . The Tanjore Library, however, contains additional manuscripts of most of the works which I had discovered elsewhere, and this is a matter of great importance.

I believe that this library must, sooner or later escheat to the Government. The preparation of this library catalogue will therefore protect property on enormous value. Sanskrit Manuscripts have long been very dear and the cost of making proper transcripts is now very heavy. As far as I can judge, it would not be possible to form a collection like that at Tanjore at a less cost than £ 50,000 but many manuscripts are unquestionably unique."

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CHAPTER - 3

Royal and Important Private Libraries
of
the Sultānate Period.

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We shall now narrate the history of Indian libraries after the advent and conquests of the Musalmans.

We begin first with the history of the Turko-Afgan period (1206 to 1526 A.D.) when the Sultān was the ruler, protector and benefactor of the people.

"The Sultan controls affairs, maintains rights, enforces the criminal code; he is the Pole Star round whom revolve the affairs of the world and the Faith; he is the protection of God in his realm; his shadow extends its canopy over His servants, for he forbids the forbidden, helps the oppressed, uproots the oppressor and gives security to the timid." From the ¹ above saying of Ahmad bin Muhammad bin 'Abd Rabb, the eminent jurist it is evidently clear that the Sultān was the mainspring of the entire administrative machinery, religious and cultural activities. He was the supreme head and his literary tastes and encouragement for the cause of education gave impetus to the general support of the poets, philosophers and scientists as well as to the establishment of schools, colleges and libraries all over the domain. On the contrary his dislike did considerable harm to the learned men and institutions. In those days Royal help and encouragement could only

help the growth and development of the cultural activities and institutions and as the Sultān was the state personified, the part played by him was of immense value.

Sultāns of Delhi, minor muslim rulers and nobles generally encouraged Islamic learning and establishment^{of} (maktabs (primary schools) Madrasahs (schools of higher learning), libraries and mosques. The capitals of the early Muslim rulers transferred from Ghazni to Lahore and from Lahore to Delhi became the centres of learning in the traditions and patterns of Ghazni. Scholars from different parts of the Muslim world assembled in Delhi, Jullāndhar, Firozabad and other places which became famous educational and cultural centres. The Khilji Sultāns were great patrons of these activities and founded libraries, the most important of them is the Imperial Library of Delhi. In course of time "the capital of Delhi, by the presence of these unrivalled men of great talents had become the envy of Bagdad, the rival of Cairo and the equal of constantinipole." ² Among the Tughluq and Lodi rulers Muhammad bin Tughluq, Firūz Shāh and Sultān Sikandar Lodi were being men of great accomplishments freely helped scholars and poets and established colleges with Mosques attached to them. The inscription of 'Alāi Darwāzah describes Sultān 'Alāuddin Khilji as "Upholder of the pulpits of learning and

and religious and strengthener of the rules of colleges³ and places of worship". Like the churches and monasteries of medieval Europe, these mosques and Khangahs provided for education in medieval India.

During the period under discussion great progress was made in all fields of knowledge. Political conditions did not materially affect Sanskrit literature and Literary works continued to be produced due to patronage of the rulers of Vijaynagar, Warrangal, Guzrat etc. Jains also made substantial contribution during this age.

Arabic and Persian literatures in all branches of learning produced in India during the ~~next~~ reign of Sultāns occupy a very important place. Persian writings on History, literature and religion influenced the Indian thoughts and introduced systematic historical writings. Several Sanskrit works on Music, dancing, astronomy and romantic poetry were translated into persian. As a result of these cultural activities innumerable manuscripts were written and collection of these records were accumulated in different parts of⁴ the country.

The reign of Turo-Afgan rulers thus marks a period of literary and education efflorescence but it also became the occasion for the destruction of many Hindu and Buddhist libraries in existence as in Europe the Reformation movement in its fight against church of Rome

inflicted heavy loss on the monastic libraries.

Minor ruling dynasties of Bengal, Jaunpur, Malwa, Golkunda, Ahmednagar and Bijapur followed passionately the footsteps of the Delhi Sultāns. Of the important men of letters of this period special mention should be made of the great Persian scholar, Amir Khusrav, Khursan, the librarian of the Imperial library; Minhāj-uddin and Zia-ud-din Barni the famous historians; Moulana Muaiyyan-ud-din Umrani, the author of the commentaries on the Husaini Talkhis and Mufti etc.

Muhammad Ghorī and some of the earlier Sultāns like Qutubuddin and Bakhtiyar out of fanatic zeal caused considerable harm to the Hindu and Buddhist educational centres by destroying the temples, monasteries, universities and libraries and killing all the monks and students ^{but} they also tried to compensate these destructive acts by erecting mosques, colleges and libraries to spread Islamic religion and learning.

During the so-called Slave dynasty the reigns of Sultān Firūz Tughluq, Iltutmish, Sultān Raziyya, Nasiruddin and Balban were important for their patronage and zeal for learning. Sultān Nasiruddin is said to have earned his personal expenses through the sale proceeds of penmanship. Balban's reign was noted for extraordinary literary activities when sixteen fugitive princes of Iran and Khorasan who were illustrious

men of letters took shelter in Delhi due to the onrush of the infidel Mongols. Innumerable literary societies grew up due to the patronage of Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of Nasiruddin who used to hear recitations from Shāh-Nāmā, the Diwāni-Sanāi, Diwāni Khāqāni etc. It is evidently clear that during the Slave dynasty through the direct patronage of the Sultāns Delhi became a place of learning. Penmanship had a very important place in the society and as a result innumerable books were copied and preserved in the libraries with due care.

A peep into the administration of the royal households will give us an idea of the regular patterns of their lives and their likes and dislikes. They used to maintain a large establishment for the maintenance of the Imperial household which was divided into various sections or departments. Each of these departments were known as the Kārkhānā and distinguished men of rank and file of the court were generally appointed as officers-in-charge of each Kārkhānā.

During the time of Firūz Shāh the number of these Kārkhānās maintained within the Imperial household was thirty six but from time to time the numbers varied. Among the Kārkhānās mentioned by "Afif", Kitābkhānā was under a Kitābdār or Librarian who was also known as Mushafbardār.

We can conclude from the above two paragraphs that

the Sultāns regularly maintained libraries in the palace under the direct charge of a full time librarian.

The Sultāns of Delhi maintained the great tradition of Mahmud and the Gaznavid dynasty for keeping up the traditional glory and brilliance of the court and the growth and development of Islamic learning.

The name of Jalāl-U'd-din Khilji deserves special mention who himself being an author and poet remained surrounded by eminent men like Amir Khusrāu, Tajuddin Iraqi, Khwājah Hasan, Muyyid Diwanah, Amir Asslan Quli, Ikhtikharuddin Razi and Bāqī Khatir. During the time of the new sultānate cultural activities received Royal patronage and help to the extreme and made a long headway.

Jalāl-U'd-din established the Imperial library at Delhi and appointed Amir Khusrāu as the librarian. The Sultān gave great importance to the post and selected the right person in the right place. Not only he appointed him the librarian of the Imperial library but he also made him the keeper of the holy Koran.

Amir Khusrāu, the librarian who was regarded as a great scholar and poet was held in high esteem by the Sultān who raised him to the peerage and allowed him

to have a royal distinction of wearing the white garment. Even as a prince, during the reign of Kaiqubad the sultān sanctioned a pension and rewarded Amir Khusraw with princely awards. It is evidently clear from the above lines that the librarian of the Imperial library carried much prestige and was considered a valuable and very responsible post.⁸

Alāuddin, the next Sultān in the first stage of his career did not encourage education but latter he helped the cause of learning and became the "strengthenener of the pulpits of learning and religion, strengthener of the rules of colleges and places of worship"⁹ .

Among ~~ma~~ the many poets and philosophers who flourished in this time, the name of learned saint Nizāmuddin Auliya is very important. His tomb at Delhi is even today considered as a very sacred place by Muhammedans. He had a library which was the property of the waqf and was open to every man of learning. The library was housed in his Khanqah in Ghiyathpur in Delhi which is known today as Nizām-ul-Auliya.

Shaikh 'Abdul-Haq, the Muhaddith of Delhi while writing of Shaikh Sirāj 'Uthman says, "After this, he acquired profeciency in Kafiya, Mufassal, Qaduri, Majma-'ul-Bahrain under Maulana Rukruddin's supervision. And after Shaikh Nizāmuddin's death he acquired

other kinds of education for three years and carried with him some books from the Shaikh's library which was a waqf, and the clothes and Khilafat-Nāmā which he had obtained from the Shaikh.¹⁰ Shaikh Siraj

'Uthman known as Maqdum Sirājuddīn was the first disciple of the saint and when he removed to Lucknow he carried along with other things some valuable books from the library of his Master.¹¹

The Tughluq dynasty opened a new chapter. The first sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn brought peace and order and was fond of men of letters. He extended his sympathy to the learned institutions and persons but for his short period of reign he failed to do something of permanent value.

Muhammad Tughluq, the second sultān of the dynasty was famous for his learning and mastery over calligraphy . . .

"The versatility of his genius surprised those who came in contact with him. A lover of the fine arts, a cultured scholar and an accomplished poet, he was equally at home in logic, astronomy, philosophy, mathematics and the physical sciences. He was thoroughly acquainted with literary works like Sikandar-nāmāh and the Tārikhi-i-Mahmūde. No one could excel the Sultān in composition, he had at his ready command a good deal of Persian poetry of which he made a large use in his writings and speeches"¹² This scholarly

sultān's tutor Khān Azam Qutlugh Khān was the Khari-tadār, keeper of sultān's pen and paper and Amir Mukbah, the Sardawatdār or the custodian of king's inkpot.¹³

Delhi could have been, under the patronage of this sultān, an important cultural centres of Asia but his whimsical nature and bad temper stood on the way. His idea of transferring his capital from Delhi to Deogir brought ruin upon this city as well as upon all the learned institutions. Ibn-Batūtah who visited India in 1341 saw Delhi like a desert.

Firūz Shāh, built a new city at Firuzabad near Delhi where he established his power on a strong footing. He was a patron of learning and himself wrote Fatuhāt-i-Firūz Shāhi. Historians like Mazhar and scholar like Tātār Khān gathered round him. The sultān built mosques and Madrasas and created trusts for them. He also repaired and revived the old public institutions and made necessary arrangements for their maintenance.

The Sultān educated even his slaves and "some of the slaves were to ~~spend their time~~ spend their time in reading and committing to memory the holy book, others in religious studies or in copying books¹⁴. "It is evidently clear that the sultān encouraged copying books and certainly he made necessary arrangements for their preservation in a library.

During this time like the Muslim rulers and the nobles, the Hindu chiefs had also maintained libraries. Most of the libraries were housed within the temples. Similarly the early Muslim rulers of India made no separate buildings as libraries but the valuable and rich collection of books and manuscripts were preserved in the Mosques, educational institutions or Khan-qahs.

Firūz shāh conquered the Rājā of Nagarkot. In the temple of Jawalāmukhi at Nagarkot there was a fine library of Hindu books consisting of 1300 volumes. Firūz invited scholars and ordered them to translate some of the books. One of the translators was 'Izzuddin Khalid Khani, the poet who translated one of these books dealing with physical sciences into Persian and the sultān named the book as Dala'il-i-Firūz Shāhi.¹⁵

One of the learned courtiers of Firūz was Tātār Khān, the scholar and commentator of Koran. "It is said that when he intended to write this book, he collected various commentaries and called for a group of learned scholars. And he gleaned the differences which the various commentators had in some verse or sentence, and incorporated them in his book. He has also given references to every commentator in case of variance. One will thus find all the various ~~commentaries~~ commentaries in this one book. He has prepared the commentary with great labour and pains . . . He collected

all the books on Fatawa and recorded all the controversy which the jurists had ~~xxxx~~ on various matters in his book . . . In this way the Fatawa was completed in thirty volumes"^{15 A} From the above description there can be no doubt that Tātār Khān had his own personal library which consisted of a valuable collection of the books on Fatawa.

The constant political struggles and foreign invasions in between them considerably hampered the growth and development of libraries during the sultānate period. The death of Fī^rūz Shāh in Sept, 1388 was followed by a bloodshed and unrest. Badāuni says - "Day by day battles were fought between these two kings." And all over Hindusthan these arose parlus each with its own Malik (king)"¹⁶ . At the end of 1398 Amir Timur invaded India sweeping the greater part of the country with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage. But he did not stay for longer and after his departure " such a famine and pestilence fell upon the capital that the city was utterly ruined, and those of inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Delhi."¹⁷

The above picture gives a graphic account how times without number the Imperial cities which vied with Bagdad and Cairo were utterly ruined and as a result all its academic institutions and libraries faced destruction.

The Saiyid Sultāns ruled from 1414 to 1451 A.D. followed by the Lodi dynasty under which writing, works of translations and compilation received fresh impetus and the Hindus applied themselves more to the study of Muhammadan literature.

Sultān Sikandar Lodi, himself a poet and a man of great literary acquirements, greatly encouraged learning. Many foreign scholars were attracted to his court.

During his reign a treatise on Indian medicine called Tibb-i-Sikandari was compiled and translated from Sanskrit works by Miyan Bhuvah. " He got together fine calligraphists and learned men, and employed them in writing books on every science. He brought books from Khursan and gave them to learned and good men. Writers were continually engaged in this work." ¹⁹

In 1510 A.D. Mahmud bin Shaikh Ziyā wrote a Persian dictionary called the Tuhfat-us-Sa'adat or Farhang-i-Sikandar and dedicated the volume to Sikandar. Besides these, the period saw further development of the Muslim sciences, including philosophy and several Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. Thus due to Sikandar's favours and encouragement innumerable libraries grew up all over his kingdom.

The nobles and courtiers similarly patronised the cause of education and established their personal

libraries. Gāzi khān, a courtier of Ibrahim had a personal library which Babur took into his possession in 1525 A.D. The following line from Tūzūk-i-Bāburi will corroborate the fact - "On Monday, while walking²⁰ in the fort, I reached the Ghāzi Khān library." The library was housed within the Delhi Fort.

The learned minister Hian Bhawa of Sikandar Shāh (1489-1517) was always surrounded by scholars and poets. He had a valuable collection of books on all branches of knowledge and had employed expert calligraphists to copy rare ~~xx~~ works. Shaikh Su'dullah, father of Shaikh Rizqullah Mustaqi, a historian who lived under the Lodis was a saintly scholar and a great lover of²¹ books. He possessed a large and valuable library.

The Sultāns of Kashmir emulated the ideas of Delhi and were great patrons of learning. Zainu'l Abidin(1420-70), the sultān of Kashmir, established many educational institutions and libraries. He considerably encouraged the art of book-making and mainly for this purpose he established technical schools where people were taught paper-making, book-binding²² and other allied arts.

LIBRARIES
OF
THE INDEPENDENT SULTĀNS OF GUZRAT

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After the disruption of the Tughluq empire Muzaffar Khān established his sway as the first independent Sultān of Guzrat in 1407 A.D. and the independent Sultāns of Guzrat ruled for a period of one hundred and eighty years. The rulers of this line were not only great administrators and builders but bibliophiles and patrons of learning. In 1411 Ahmad Shāh, grandson of Muzaffar Khān founded the historical city Ahmedabad. Under the patronage of the Sultāns of Guzrat large number of books were written and scholars from Yaman, Hijaz, Egypt and Persia adorned their courts. These foreign scholars dedicated their works to the rulers.

Sultān Mahmūd Begda (1458-1511 A.D.) built many mosques and madrasas. He was a great bibliophile and had placed his own library under the control of Sayyid Ushmān, known as Shami Burhāni. The library was housed at the madrasa of Osmanpur
23
near Ahmadabad.

The next ruler Muzaffar II (1511-26) greatly encouraged writings and rewarded the authors profusely. He was so fond of good works that when

Sayyid Āli Khān Bara Nahar of Mandu presented the king with the first available copy of the commentary of Fath-al-Bari compiled by Ibn Hajar Asqalani the king made the Sayyid governor of Broach. The king presented two copies of the Qurān to the cities of Mecca and Medina written with his own hand in gold²⁴ water.

Nobles and statemen of Guzrat followed the tradition set up by the Sultāns. In 1548-49 Sultān Mahmūd III recalled Āsaf Khān, the scholar stateman from Mecca to take charge of the chief ministership of the troubled state. Āsaf Khān had left behind him a high reputation for administrative capacity and he was a great lover of books. When he was returning from Mecca he was carrying a good collection of selected books with him. Unfortunately due to a ship wreck on the coast of India he lost his collection of books²⁵ and the most precious among them was an autographed copy of Mishkat, a reputed collection²⁶ of traditions.

Sidi Said, the famous architect who built the Sidi Said Masjid at Ahmedabad was a patron of learning.²⁷ He had collected a fine library. He sent his own ship to Egypt for bringing the books he wanted for his library. But the ship on her return journey²⁸ landed at Cambay where many of the books were lost.

During this age Guzrat produced many scholars, saints, authors and compilers. All Muattaqi was one of them. Being a great lover of learning and a reputed teacher he used to supply books to the students and prepare ink for them. He did rearrange Suyuti's Jamma' Jawani' for the help of the students and thus achieved an immense service for further study of Fiqh.

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Chapter - 4

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Libraries
of
The Moghuls,
The Minor Muslim Kingdoms,
The Marathas
&
The Contemporary Hindu
Centres of
Learning

The cultural history of the Timurid dynasty is the culmination of the tradition started in Turko-Afghan period. The Moghul emperors were great patrons of learning and great builders. Innumerable Mosques, Mausoleums and educational institutions were constructed during this period. Except Aurangzeb all other emperors extended their help graciously to the growth and development of art, literature and music. Book-making as well as library-development made remarkable progress during this period.

Zahir -ud-din Mohammad Bābur was a scholar, man of literary taste and author of several volumes both on Jurisprudence and Prosody.¹ He encouraged calligraphy and himself invented a new type of writing known as Bābari hand.²

Bābur was very fond of books and took keen interest in the development of his library. In 1525 he took possession of the personal library of Ghāzi Khān and expected to find many good books there. But he was disappointed and this is evidently clear from his following saying -

"I did not on the whole find so many books of value as, from their appearance, I had expected." He distributed some of the selected titles to Humāyun and Kāmran.³

Bābur was always accompanied by learned and literary men who received considerable encouragement from the emperor. Among them the name of Khwandamir deserves special mention. Khwandamir who was a librarian in Hirat accompanied the king in his expedition to Bengal.⁴

During his reign innumerable schools and colleges were built up. One of the duties of the Shuhrah-i-Ām or the public works Departments was to build⁵ Maktab⁵s and Madrasahs. Every Madrasah usually had⁶ its own library.

Bābur was also keen in building up the Imperial⁷ library⁸ as well as his own personal library, where he kept selected and well-illustrated books of his choice. Here within his personal library he used to take rest and to relax. The ruler is also credited for having introduced the art of book-illustration which considerably developed during the reign of⁹ his son and grandson.

Humāyūn, the eldest son of Bābur ascended the throne in 1530 A.D.

Humāyūn imbibed some of the best traits and traditions of his family and like his father he was highly educated and was passionately interested in Arts and Sciences. Moreover while he, as an exiled monarch, was living in Persia, he was strongly influenced by the literary and artistic activities

of Shāh Tahmāspas court. He wrote a few volumes on the nature of elements and loved to study Geography and Astronomy.¹⁰ The other favourite subjects of the emperor were literature and poetry and like his predecessors he used to hold discussions with the poets and philosophers.¹¹ Ferishta writes that the emperor built seven halls and named them after seven planets. In the halls named after Saturn and Jupiter he used to receive men of letters like Khwandamir, the historian and ex-librarian of Hirat; Jauhar, the reputed author, Admiral Sidi Ali Rais, the Turkish scholar, poet and astronomer. In his travel diary Admiral Rais wrote - "I started work and finished my astronomical observations, working day and night without taking any rest..." There is much enthusiasm for poetry and poetical contests in those days and for this reason I had to remain in the king's presence.¹²

Humāyūn was a great lover of books and he was encouraged to cultivate the hobby by his father who presented him with selected books from the collection of Gāzi Khān. The emperor's fondness went so far that he used to carry a library of selected works when he was engaged in battle-fields. During the time of his expeditions to Bengal and Guzrat he carried such library.¹³ Even being defeated by Sher Khān when he encamped at Cambay he had several

books and a librarian with him.¹⁴ One night during the fugitive period a body of forest tribes known as Kolis made a night attack on his camp and plundered it and decamped with the booty of which was a copy of the History of Tamerlaine.¹⁵ This is further corroborated by the following writing of . Abul-Fazl - " Many rare books which were his real companions and were always kept in His Majesty's personal possession were lost. Among these was Timur-Nāmā, translated by Mullā Sultān Āli and illustrated by Ustād Bihzād which is now in the Shāhenshāh's library.¹⁶ " Nizām, father of Lāla Beg¹⁷ or Bāz Bahādur was a librarian of the king.

The emperor's encouragement in establishing libraries is ~~father~~ further emphasised by the fact that he converted a pleasure-house in Purānā Qilā of Delhi into a library shortly before his death. This house in Purānā Qilā was built by Sher Shāh in 1541 as a pleasure-house and was named as Sher Mandal.¹⁸ It is an octagonal building of granite and red sandstone and is two storied.

The magnificent buildings erected by Humāyūn at Agra was known as Khāna-i-Tilism. Its main portion contained three buildings of which Khāna-i-Sa'dat is one in the middle and octagonal in shape. In its upper room was the library where there was a prayer carpet (jai nimag), books, gilded pen cases

(qalamdān), portfolios(Juzdān), picture books and beautiful specimens of calligraphy.¹⁹

Humāyūn fell down from the stairs of his library situated in Purānā Qilā, Delhi and expired on Sunday, January 26, 1556 at about sun set.²⁰

Humāyūn's contribution, within such a short and disturbed period, to the establishment of libraries and encouragement for the love of books is a praiseworthy and notable achievement.

Akbar, the greatest of the Moghul emperors succeeded Humāyūn . The second battle of Pānipat (November 5, 1556) closed the chapter of the Afgans and heralded the real beginning of the Moghul empire in India.

Akbar so long ruled under the shadows of his guardian Bairām Khān and the court ladies. The death of Bairām in 1561 and of his mother in 1562 made Akbar free to rule by himself till his death in 1605. With the fearless energy of Alexander, Akbar conquered the entire northern India and brought peace and prosperity to this war-torn land. This socio-economic change contributed largely to the progress and development of the cultural life in all its branches specially in painting, writing and illustrating books, translating books from other languages and in establishing libraries. As a result besides the Imperial library "to which probably no parallel then existed or even existed in the world" innumerable private libraries and

libraries attached to educational institutions flourished during this period.

Akbar though unlettered was a very cultured man with a strong desire for learning. He had refined and very tolerant taste and genuine intellectual curiosity. "My father (Akbar) used to hold discourse with learned men of all persuasion, particularly the Pandits and the intelligent persons of Hindusthan. Though he was illiterate, yet from constantly conversing with learned and clever persons, his language was so ~~pt~~ polished that no one could discover from his conversation that he was entirely uneducated. He understood even the elegance of poetry and prose so well that it is impossible to conceive of any more proficient²¹".

The above lines from the pen of his son and successor aptly proves his (Akbar's) cultural trend of mind and passionate genuine interest for knowledge. Not only he made himself fit through discussions and conversations but he maintained a very rich library and appointed experienced and learned people to read aloud books to him every day. In this connection Abu-'l-Fazl writes:- "His Majesty's library is divided into several parts; some of the books are kept within and some without the Harem . . . Experienced people bring them daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears every book from the beginning to the end. At whatever page the readers daily stop, His Majesty

· makes with his own pen a sign, according to the number of pages; and rewards the readers with presents of cash either in gold or silver, according to number of leaves read out by them. Among books of renown, there are no historical facts of the past ages or curiosities of science, or interesting points of philosophy with which His Majesty, a leader of important sages, is acquainted. He does not get tired of learning, a book over again but listens to the reading of it with more interest." ²² Thus Akbar became conversant with the different philosophical ideas, literary trends and historical facts."

Akbar inherited an Imperial library from his father and out of his love for collection of books he enriched the library to a large extent. These collections came mostly from some of the private libraries and also from the libraries of Guzrat; Jaunpur, Kashmir, Bihar, Bengal and Deccan. ²³ Further additions were made by the writings and translations done at his court and also from presentations from the nobles and high officers.

Faizi had a good collection consisting of 4,300 Mss. in his library. After his death the collection ²⁴ was transferred to the Imperial library, and it was entered and numbered along with the Imperial collection. Faizi's collection was divided into three different sections as (1) Poetry, music, medicine

and astrology (2) Philosophy, philology, Suffism, astronomy and geometry and (3) Theology, law, commentaries etc. There were several copies of the same title. For example there were 101 copies of Nal ²⁵ Daman.

During the conquest of Gujrat the library of I'timād Khān Gujrāti was acquired by the emperor and it was transferred to form a part of the Imperial library. ²⁶ When Gujrat was finally conquered Mirzā Khān Khānān rejoined the court and in the 34th year he presented to the emperor a copy his Persian translation of Bābar's Chegta-i-memoirs (Wāqi'at-i- ²⁷ Bābari).

By order of the emperor many important works originally written in Sanskrit and other languages were translated into Persian. The Mahābhārat was translated by Persian scholars like Naqib Khān, Maulanā Abul Qadir of Badāon and Shayykh Sultān of Thāneswar and it contained nearly one thousand verses and was named as Razm-Nāmā or the book of wars. In 1589 A.D. Badāuni translated Rāmāyan after working hard for four years. Hāzi Ibrāhīm Sirhind translated Atharvaveda; Fayzi the Lilābati, Hindu mathematical work; Mokammal Khān of Guzrat translated Tajak, a well-known work on Astronomy; Mirzā Abdur Rahim Khān translated the memoirs of Bābur from Turkish into Persian and Maulanā Shāh Māhammad of

Shāhbād translated the History of Kashmir from Kashmirian; Mujam'1-Buldan, a treatise on towns and countries was translated by several scholars from Arabic. Besides these, translations of Nal-Daman and Kalilawa Damna and, Tārikh-i-Alfi, history of ²⁸ one thousand years were done by learned scholars.

It is evidently clear from the above that during the time of Akbar there was a regular translation bureau and many important volumes were added to the ²⁹ Imperial library.

Moreover the Imperial library and his personal library were enriched by many original literary works. Among the important verse writers special mention should be made of Ghizali, Faizi, Muhammad Husain Naziri of Nishapur, Sayyid Jamāluddin Urfi of Shieraj etc. Jarome Kavier, an outstanding Jesuit wrote several Persian works on Christian religion and philosophy ³⁰ and presented them to Akbar and Jahāngir.

In order to enhance the production of beautiful volumes Akbar encouraged calligraphy and painting. He loved well illustrated books written with a fine handwriting. The author of Āin-i-Akbari writes that during the time of Akbar there existed ~~a~~ eight modes of writing as Suls, Tauqi, ³¹ Muhaqqaq, Naskh, Raihān, Riqā, Ghubār and Taliq. Akbar was very fond of Nasta'liq handwriting and the famous master of said writing, Muhammad Hussain of Kashmir was

honoured by the title "Zarrin-Kalam" or "God pen"³²
 Akbar being fond of good handwriting did not care
 for the choicest printed books presented by the 1st
 Jesuit Mission.³³ But he was not so hostile to
 printed books like the Duke Federigo of Urbino
 who would neither own them nor allow them in ~~his~~³⁴
 their collections.

The first Jesuit mission presented to Akbar
 a huge and well bound Bible in four languages (He-
 brew, Chaldee, Latin and Greek) in seven volumes.
 This Royal Polyglot was edited by Montanus and
 printed at Antwerp by Plantyn in 1569 - 1572 for
 King Philip II. This volume, which was returned by
 Akbar to the Fathers was in the Catholic library
 of Lucknow till 1857. Thus Akbar possessed many
 European books and he showed his European book
 collection to the Fathers of the Third Mission in 1595.
 He also requested them to take some of the books as
 they required. The Fathers received from Akbar's
 library the Royal Bible and concordances, the
 Summa and other works of S. Thomas Aquinas, the
 works of the scholastic writer Domingo de Soto, of
 S. Antonino of Forciglione, of Pope Sylvester (d.
 1003) and Cardinal Cajetan (1470-1524), the Chro-
 nics of S. Francis, the History of the Popes, the
 Laws of Portugal, the Commentaries of Alfonso
 Albuquerque, the writings of the Brazil missionary

of Juan Espeleta of Navarre (a relative of Jerome Xavier, who died in 1555), the Exercitia Spiritualia of S. Ignatius, the Constitutions of the Society, and a Latin Grammar written by the Jesuit Emmanuel Alvarez (1526-1582). Of several of these Akbar had
35
duplicates.

The Jesuit Fathers, besides the European books presented to him Persian translations of Christ's life and Christian religious books. Akbar greatly admired the books and he used to read them often.

"While Fr. Pigneiro was ⁱⁿ the town of Agra (1602), Fr. Xavier, who was also there, presented to the King a treatise in Persian on the life, miracles, and doctrines of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which the king had himself asked, and which he longed to see. Hence, he showed that he esteemed it much and he had it often read by his great Captain Agiscoa ('Aziz Koka), who took so much pleasure in it that he asked the father for another copy, and it was already so much talked of among the Grandees that there was hope God would by this means make known to those infidels and unbelievers His only Son our Lord. After this, the King asked the Father for another
36
book on the life of the Apostles".

Mr. George Ranking of Oxford, ex-secretary to the Board of Examiners in Calcutta possessed a copy of Xavier's Persian translation of Lives of the

Apostles. The book in several places bears the seal Muhammad Akbar, Parishah-i-Ghāzi, 1013 (i.e. 1604) which shows that it belonged to the Royal library of Akbar.³⁷

The emperor loved beautifully written and profusely illustrated Mss. For his Imperial library Akbar secured a richly illustrated Ms. of Razm-Nāmā, which costed him about £ 40,000. One such copy is now in the Jaipur Durbār Library. Due to royal patronage innumerable able and master calligraphists and artists devoted their lives for perfection of his art.

Abul-Fazl described in detail their names and activities in Āin-i-Akbari.³⁸ More than hundred painters during this time became famous masters.³⁹ His libraries contained innumerable books ornamented with delicate paintings. The twelve volumes of the story of Hamzah contained not less than one thousand and four hundred illustrations. Volumes of his library like Chingiznāmā, the Zafarnāmā, the Razm nāmā, the Rāmāyan, Nal-Damayanti, Kalilahwa Damanah etc. were all illustrated.⁴⁰ In order to encourage the art of painting the emperor established a royal studio.⁴¹

Akbar died in October 1605. After his death an inventory of the Imperial properties housed in the fort of Agra was taken. Two European authors Manrique and De Lact copied the inventory from

official records when we find that the Imperial library contained 24,000 illustrated and well bound volumes. The approximate price of the collection was Rs.6,463,731. The average price of each volume should be £ 27 to £ 30 and similarly according to the rate of exchange total valuation should be £ 737,169.⁴²

Mulla Pir Muhammad who was one of the tutors of the King served as the superintendent of the library.⁴³

Besides the Imperial collection innumerable libraries did flourish during this time and they were maintained by the nobles, important citizens and also by some of queens of the emperors. One of his queen Salimā Sultānā Begam who was ^avery accomplished lady maintained a library of her own.⁴⁴ She wrote many Persian poems under the non-de-plume of Makfi.⁴⁵ Badāuni became embarrassed as he or some body else lost the book - the original "Thirty two thrones" or Badāuni's translation which Salimā Begam had been studying at that time.⁴⁶ Gul Badan Begam, the daughter of Bābur and authoress of Humāyūn Nāmā⁴⁷ was ~~very~~ also a very learned lady and she collected books for her personal library.

Among the libraries maintained by the nobles the libraries of Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khānan, who was the governor of Ahmedabad in the first stage of his career and also a scholar and the library of Shaikh

Faizi ~~laxxx~~ deserves a special mention.

Khān-i-Khānan possessed a big personal library which was maintained by a staff of 95 men. The personnel included the librarian, book-binder, scribe, translator etc. and most of the books of the library were written and presented by their respective authors. Many seekers of wisdom used to visit the library for "study and self-improvement"⁴⁸. Maulanā Ibrahim Naqqash, who was a scholar, writer, book-binder and gilder served as Kitābdār of Khān-i-Khānan's library. Mir Baqi was the Nizām or the⁴⁹ highest officer of the library. Niāmatullah, the author of Makhzan-i-Afghani sometimes acted as the librarian of Khān Khānan Abdur Rahim and then as⁵⁰ a historiographer ~~mf~~ at Emperor Jahāngir's court.

Shaikh Faizi had his own private library which contained 4300 books. After his death in 1595 his collection was transferred to the Imperial library⁵¹ at Agra.

Sipha Salar Munim Khān, Khān Khānan, the governor of Jaunpur during the time of Akbar was a great patron of learning and he built a bridge over the Gumti near Jaunpur. He had also a hobby of collecting books for his library. Bahādur Khān Uzbek, his friend presented him with a copy of Kulliyah Sa'di. He also purchased books like Diwān of Mirzā Kāmran⁵² for his library.

Salim, after seven days of his father Akbar's death, ascended the throne at Agra and assumed the title - Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jahāngir Pādshāh Ghāzi. Though fond of pleasures Jahāngir was a man of refined tastes and inherited some of the good qualities of his father and great grand father Bābur. His Tuzuk amply testifies his literary tastes and love of books.

Jahāngir was also a patron of learning and promoter of the cause of education. He ordered that the properties of a rich hierless man should be utilised for building and repairing Madrasahs, monasteries and libraries and "repaired even those Madrasahs that had for thirty years been the dwelling places of birds and beasts and filled with students and professors."⁵³ Thus through imperial patronage Agra maintained her tradition of being a centre of learning and abode of scholars.

The emperor not only inherited a rich Imperial library but considerably enriched the collection and added a picture gallery to it. During his time Maktub Khān was the superintendent of both the Imperial library and Picture gallery.⁵⁴

Besides the Imperial library the emperor had a personal library and his love of books was so great that when he went to Gujrat, his personal library moved along with him. At Gujrat he presented books to the Ulemas ~~from~~ from the library. Jahāngir describes

the presentation as follows:-

"On the 16th, Tuesday, the elite of Gujrat came to me for the second time. I again gave them Khil'ah, travelling expenses and land and then allowed to go. I gave every one of them from my personal library a book like Tafsiri Kashshaf, Tafsiri Husaini, Rauza-tul-Ahbab and on the back of each book wrote the date of the arrival in Gujrat and the bestowing of books."⁵⁵

To enrich his library as well as to satisfy his craving for love of books Jahāngir used to purchase Mss at a very high price. Martin writes - "The manuscript for which Jahāngir paid 3000 gold rupees - a sum equivalent to £ 10,000 - would not fetch £2000 at a sale in Paris today. Through the following centuries, the same love for old books prevailed and ridiculous prices were paid for them, as high in proportion as Americans now pay for Rembrandts and Van Dycks."⁵⁶

Jahāngir enriched and patronised the art of book illustration to a considerable degree. As Akbar had a great fascination for life like portrait paintings, Jahāngir with the idea that "actual likeness might afford a great surprise to the reader than mere description," appointed artists to illustrate his "Jahāngir-Nāmāh" with life-like pictures of animals that were brought to him by Muqarrb Khān from the sea port of Goa.⁵⁷

In order to maintain the huge Imperial library he had a large staff including copyists. When he completed writing Tuzuk he ordered the scribes of his library to copy the same volume and distribute them to the grandees of the country. Shāh-Jahān received the first copy. Jahāngir also patronised the art of calligraphy and honoured the eminent calligraphists of the age. The ~~emperor~~ emperor presented the eminent calligraphist Shaikh Farid Bakhari with a robe of honour, a jewelled sword, a pen and inkstand and conferred the title "Mir Bakshi" on him. He said -
 "I regard thee as Lord of the sword and the Pen"
 58
 (Sahibu - s - Saif-wa-l-qalam)

Nūr Jahān, the highly cultured consort of the emperor was also a lover of books. She maintained her private library and purchased a copy of the Diwān of Kāmran for three mohurs. The copy is now preserved in the Khuda Baksh Libray, Patna and the following lines occur on the first page of the Diwān -

"Three Muhur the price of this treasure. Nawāb
 59
 Nūr-un - Nisā Begam".

Shaikh Farid Bukhari was one of the grandees of Jahāngir's court and was for a long time the governor of Lahor and Ahmedabad. He maintained a personal library and bought - Diwān of Hasan Dehlavi" for the same. The volume is now in possession of Khuda Baksh
 60
 Library, Patna.

Shah Jahān also like his predecessors patronised learning and education.

He encouraged learned men with gifts and presents and many poets, theologicians and historians flourished in his time. Among them special mention should be made of Abūl Hamid Lāhori, author of Pādshāh-Nāmā; Aminai Qazwini, author of another Pādshāh-Nāmā; Muhammad Salih, author of 'Amal-i-Salih; Inayat Khān, author of Shāh-Jahān-Nāmā. Under the patronage of Dārā Shukūh, the eldest son of the emperor many important books were written and translated into Persian.

Besides these translations and original ~~work~~ works on various field of knowledge four voluminous dictionaries were compiled and dedicated to Shāh Jahān - a) Farhang-i-Rashidi and b) Muntakhab-ul-Lughat-i-Shāhjahāni by Abdur Rashid -ul-Tatvi; chahar Ansar Danish by Amanullah and Shahid-i-Sadiq by Md. Sadiq, which deals with religious, philosophical, political ethical and cosmographical matters.

The emperor founded the Imperial college at Delhi and repaired the college named as Dār-ul-Baqā. It is very natural that these educational institutions had their respective libraries. The emperor though was not very particular about book-collection and library development still he used to listen regularly books read to him in the late night, Sir J. Sarcar writes- "At about 8-30 P.M. he returned to

harem. Two and sometimes three hours were here spent in listening to songs by women. Then Hīs Majesty retired to bed and was read to sleep. Good readers sat behind a purdah which separated them from the royal bed chamber and read aloud books on travel, lives of saints and prophets and histories of former kings -- all rich in instruction. Among them, the life of Timūr and autobiography of Bābur were his special favourites. ⁶²

Johann Albert Von Mandelslo, a young German arrived at Surat in April, 1638. Later in the same year he made tour of Ahmadabad, Cambay, Agra and Lahore. He wrote in his travel diary that the Imperial library of Shāh Jahān had 24,000 books nicely bound. ⁶³ The chief librarian was known as Dārōgha-Kitāb-Khānā. ⁶⁴ The names of 'Abdur Rahman, Rashid Āli, the calligraphist; Mir Salih, Mir Sayyid Āli, I'tirmad Khān; 'Inayet Khān, son of Zafar Khān are mentioned in connection of the post. ⁶⁵

During this time there were good libraries managed by the Jesuit Fathers both at Agra and Delhi. The libraries contained books written in oriental languages by Fathers as well as oriental documents of religious character. The Agra college library was partly looted and burnt on the advice of Shāh Jahān while Ahmad Shāh Abdālī looted in 1759 the Delhi library except the books - *Exceptis Libris Persicis* and

Arabicis et Europeis.

Father Henry Busi first went to Delhi in 1650. His mission was to revive the cause of the Christian missionaries at the Mughul court. In order to have his purpose fulfilled he contacted Prince Darā and some important nobles of the court. Some of the Muslim nobles maintained libraries of Christian literature. Father Busi had a discussion with a 'master of the Muslims' who had a large library - 'like an Arabic Escorial' containing books on the different aspects of Christianity.⁶⁷

In June 1656 Aurangzeb assumed the Imperial dignity. He was a man of high intellectual powers, a brilliant writer, a skilled administrator, undaunted soldier and a pious Moslem king.

He encouraged Islamic learning, founded a number of schools and colleges, repaired the old Madrasas but at the same time ordered his governors to destroy Hindu schools and temples and put down their religious practices.⁶⁸

Aurangzeb was highly religious. Every day after prayer at 2 P.M. he used either to read Qurān, copying it, hunting through Arabic jurisprudence or read the books and pamphlets of the Islamic religion.⁶⁹ It is evidently clear from his last will that he saved a sum of Rs.305 which he earned by selling the copies of Qurān written or copied by him.⁷⁰

He being passionately devoted to Islamic law and theology, ordered eminent jurists to compile the Fatawa-i-Alamgiri under the direction of Mulla Nizam and ~~for~~ collected books on Tafsirs, works on Hadis, Fiqh etc. These volumes enriched the collection of the Imperial library.⁷¹ He also added a new collection to the Imperial library by transferring the library of Muhammad Gawan from Bidar.⁷²

Like his predecessors Aurangzeb entertained and honoured a group of expert calligraphists in his court. Prince Dārā Shikuh and princess Zib-un-nisā were trained in the art of calligraphy by the famous calligraphist Aqa Abdur Rashid while the emperor had his own training under the guidance of Syed Ali Tabrizi, the librarian of the Imperial library.⁷³

Muhammad Salih, was the Nāzim of the Imperial library and Muhammad Mansur and Sayyid Ali-al-Husaini were the Mahatmims. The former Mahatmim was honoured with the title of Makramat Khān.⁷⁴

Emperor's daughter Zeb-un-nisā was a very cultured lady. She was a poet, and ^{at} her request Mulla Safiuddin translated Imām Razi's - Tafsire Kabir into Persian and named it Zebut Tafasir. She was a "sedulous collector of books and had a large library(⁷⁵ Ma'asiri 'Alamgiri) for the use of scholars.

The death of Aurangzeb on 3rd March 1707 heralded the disintegration of the Moghul empire and his sons

in order to get hold of the throne started the bloody feud. Among his successors Bahādur Shāh(1707-1712) Muhammad Shāh (1719-48) and Shāh Ālam II(1759-1806) being cultured and men of literary tastes tried to continue the Moghul tradition inspite of the vicissitude of fortune and the invasion of Nādir Shāh in 1738 A.D.

Bahādur Shāh founded some more colleges and encouraged the learned men of the society.

Nādir Shāh invaded India during the time of the next ruler and ordered a general massacre of the Delhi city. The conqueror carried away with him all the crown jewels, the famous Kohinoor diamond, the peacock throne and many valuable and illustrated Persian manuscripts from the Imperial library.

Shāh Ālam II tried to revive the old glory of the Imperial library and he sincerely started to collect books for the same. "It is mentioned in the 'Ibrat-Nāmāh that Ghulam Qadir, the fiend in human shape, who had most cruelly deprived the monarch of his eyes only three days before, went into the jewel house and took out a chest and a box of jewels, several copies of the Quran and eight large baskets of books out of the Imperial library." ⁷⁶

Among the contemporary libraries the valuable collections of Mahārāja Chikka Deva Rāya(1672-1704 A.D.) of Mysore and of Mahārāja Sawai Jai Singh II(1636-1743 A.D.) of Jaipur deserve special mention. Chikka Deva's library of rarest Sanskrit, philosophical and historical works was destroyed by Tipu Sultān. Jai Singh, being highly

interested in Astronomy collected books on Astronomy even from Europe. The library of Jai Singh contained volumes like Euclid's Elements, books on plains and spherical trigonometry, La Hire's Tabulee Astronomical, Hamstead's Historia etc.⁷⁷ After his death "Jai Singh's son Jagat Singh gave this valuable library to a courtesan and it was thus destroyed and its books distributed among its base relations."⁷⁸

It will be interesting to note that during the days of the later Moghuls the Jesuit Fathers carried with them many Indian books to France mainly for the library of Louis⁷⁹ the XV(1729-1735).

MOGHUL ARCHIVES:

In the tradition of Bagdad and Cairo the Imperial Moghuls used to maintain and preseve the important government documents and state papers. The Moghul Govt. was known as the Kāghazi-Rāj or paper government as most of the official records and transactions were written on paper.⁸⁰

The Moghul courts maintained many news writers and clerks x to record every official transactions and orders in detail. There were 14 such news writers in the court of Akbar.⁸¹ Du Jarrie and Abul Fazl's writings corroborate the fruth.

Regarding the duties of the News-writers(Wā'qia-Navises) Abul-Fazl writers - "Their's duty is to write down the orders and doings of His Majesty and whatever

the heads of the Departments report"⁸² .While Du Jarrie informs us the following:-

"The king is attended by a number of secretaries whose duty is to record every word that he

speaks."⁸³ During the time of Aurangzeb the weekly reports of the news-writers and secretaries were read to His Majesty regularly at 9 P.M. by the lady officials in order to keep him abreast to the happenings

of his kingdom.⁸⁴ Manuchi, the Venetian tells us that Aurangzeb, when sending an embassy to Persia sent with it the usual officials, a waqi'ahnavis⁸⁵ and a Khufiyah-navis.

The Moghul archives mainly maintained the following state documents:-⁸⁶

- (1) Qaia or daily reports of the Imperial court
- (2) Royal orders (Akham)
- (3) Official correspondence includes the Imperial letters, letters of the royal family, letters of the grandees amongst themselves and addressed to the Emperor; officer's correspondence and field despatches (Fateh Nāmāh, Tūmār)
- (4) Govt. orders issued from the various departments.
- (5) Miscellaneous records like - will(Wasiat Nāmāh) statistical accounts, official annals, news letters.
- (6) Court chronicles include also the letter books of the Munshis.

All these above named documents and records were generally preserved both at the capitals of the central as well as provincial governments during the time of the Moghuls. The Imperial chancery or Daftar-Khānā was under a Dārogā or officer-in-charge of the records. The provincial Daftar Khānās were under the Chief Ministers or Dewans of the respective provinces.

Even during the time of the Moghuls important records and documents of sister states were preserved in the Daftar-Khānās. This is amply corroborated by the presence of a copy of a farman of Shāh Tahmās of Persia in the Daftar-Khānā of Akbar at Agra and an undated Shāh Jahāni farman either possibly of Bijapur or Golkonda sultanates in the provincial Daftar Khānā⁸⁷ at Baganagar, Hyderabad.

The building which was used as the Daftar-Khānā of Akbar still exists at Fatehpur Sikri. "It is a big hall 48½ feet long and 28½ feet wide with an enclosed varandah and a frontal court. It is built on a platform to the south of Akbar's bedroom."⁸⁸

William Finch(1611), Joannes de Lact(1593-1649) and Sebastien Manrique(1640), the European travellers⁸⁹ visited the Daftar-khānā at Agra. Similar Record rooms were maintained in the Delhi fort and it existed during the time of Aurangzīb and Bāhādur Shāh.

Libraries
of
The
Minor Muslim Kingdoms

So far we have dwelt upon the contributions made by the Turko-Afghan and Moghul rulers towards the development of Indian libraries. But besides them, many small Muslim kingdoms sprang up all over India and they also made valuable contributions in this field.

In order to complete the survey of the history of medieval Indian libraries we shall present here the achievements of those smaller kingdoms.

The Bahamani Kingdom :

The Bahamani kingdom which was founded by Afghan Hassan Gangar ~~Bahmani~~ in 1347 A.D. deserves special mention. The Bahamani kings who continued their rule upto 1526 A.D. and stretched their empire from sea to sea were great patrons of learning and founded many colleges and libraries. Mujahid Shāh Bahamani founded in 1378 a college for the education of the orphans.⁹⁰ Ahmad Shāh built a magnificent college near Gulbarga.⁹¹ Muhammad Shāh Bahamani II built another imposing college at Bidar which is one of the many beautiful remains of the grandeur

92

of the Bahamanis . All these colleges had their respective libraries along with them. The Bidar college library contained 3000 volumes for the use of the staff and students.

93

Besides the college libraries, the kings and nobles used to maintain their personal libraries.

Mahmud Gāwān who served the Bahmani kingdom as minister in three successive reigns was a very simple man and fond of learning. The military record of Muhammad Shāh III's (1463-82) reign due to a wise and honest policy of Mahmud Gāwān is indeed one of triumphs. On the return of Mahmud Gāwān's victorious expedition he was promoted to high rank, the Queen-mother called him her brother and the king gave him a suit of his own robes and honoured him by a visit of three weeks.

Ferishta tells the story of his response to the royal honours showered on him which shows his attitude to the library:-

"On Mahmud Shāh's leaving the house of the minister. Mahmood Gavan, retiring to his chamber, disrobed himself of his splendid dress, threw himself on the ground and wept plentifully; after which he came out, put on the habit of a dervish, and calling together all the most deserving holy and learned men, and syeds of Bidar, distributing among them most of his money, jewels, and other wealth, reserving, only his elephants, horses and library, saying: "Praise be to

God, I have escaped temptation, and am now free from danger."

Mullā Shamsuddin asked him why he had given away everything but his library, his elephants, and horses. He replied: "When the king honoured me with a visit, and the Queen-mother called me brother, my evil passions began to prevail against my reason; and the struggle between vice and virtue was so great in my mind, that I became distressed even in the presence of his Majesty, who kindly enquired the cause of my concern. I was obliged to feign illness in excuse of my conduct; on which the king, advising me to take some repose, returned to his palace. " I have, therefore," said the minister, "parted with wealth, the cause of this temptation to evil". His library, he said, he had retained for the use of students, and his elephants and horses he regarded as the king's, lent him only for a season. After this day, the minister always wore plain apparel; when at leisure from State affairs he retired to his own mosque and college, where he spent his time in the society of the⁹⁴ learned and persons eminent for piety and virtue."

Thus Mahmud Gāwān retained his personal library which contained about 25,000 manuscripts till his death (i.e. April 1481) and kept it open for the use⁹⁵ of the students and learned men.

Bijapur

Bijapur and Golconda had the credit of producing some learned kings who patronised men of letters and established educational institutions and libraries.

Bijapur in its pre-Muslim days had the reputation as a seat of learning and the magnificent three storied college made of granite stands as a living example of the past. It was converted into a mosque.

The Ādil Shāhi rulers were great patrons of learning and lover of books. Rafi-ud-Din, a close associate and an high officer of Āli Ādil Shāh I (1558-1580) described in his Tazkirat-ul-muluk the love of reading and books of Āli Ādil Shāh I. The Sultān "had a great inclination towards the study of books and he had procured many books connected with every kind of knowledge, so that a coloured library had become full. Nearly sixtymen, calligraphists, gilders of books, book-binders and illuminators were busy doing their work whole day in the library." ⁹⁶ The Sultān was so fond of books that even during the time of tour or military campaign he used to carry books with him. Once it happened that "He (Āli Ādil Shāh I) had selected books which filled four boxes which he kept with him in journey as well as in his ~~pr~~ palace. By chance in a journey when he reached the destination at the end of the day it began to rain heavily and the streams

became so flooded that it became impossible to cross some of their passages (i.e. fordable places). In these circumstances the army became dispersed. When His Majesty reached the destination he was reminded of the boxes of books. After some investigation it was found that the boxes had gone with the Royal Treasury by some other road and people (accompanying them) had stayed (at some other) place. At this he became very angry and said, "I have told you thousand times that the boxes of books should not be separated from me in any case, but it has been of no avail". At that very moment one of the nobles was sent to fetch the library and so long as the boxes did not arrive he remained
 97
 much restless."

Ferishta, the great historian and author of Tārikhi-Ferishta was permitted by Ibrahim Ādil Shāh II to work in the royal library.

From the recently discovered pair of Ruq'as or registered government documents it is evidently clear that one Hindu scholar Waman Pandit bin Anant of the Shesh family of Bijapur was the royal librarian. The documents further state that as a measure of security for the valuable royal manuscript collection Naro bin Gangadhar and Husain Khān in 1567 and Manjan Khān in 1575 each with high position in the Ādilshāhi hierarchy stood guarantee for the safety and careful preservation of the important charge entrusted to Waman Pandit, the

librarian. The annual salary of the librarian was one thousand Hun or about Rs.3500. It is believed that Waman Pandit, a grandson of Anant, the librarian left Bijapur as Muhammad Adil Shāh (1627-1656) wanted him to embrace Islam.⁹⁸

Mr. Fergusson with regard to the Imperial Library writes in his book:-

" Some of its books are curious and interesting to any one acquainted with Arabic and Persian literature. All the most valuable manuscripts were, it is said, taken away by Aurangzeb in cart loads and what remains are literally only a remnant, but a precious one to the persons in charge of the building who show them with mournful pride and regret."⁹⁹

The remnants of the royal library can be found in the Asari Mahal at Bijapur.

Bengal:-

Murshid Quli Ja'far Khān, Nawāb of Bengal who ruled from 1704 to 1725 "possessed very extensive learning and paid great respect to men who were eminent for their piety or ~~and~~ erudition. He wrote with great elegance and was a remarkable fine penman."¹⁰⁰ It is very natural that a very cultured Nawāb who used to copy Qurān a few hours everyday and who "maintained above two thousand readers, bards and chanters, who were constantly employed in reading the Qurān and in other acts of devotion",¹⁰¹

had a magnificent library of his own.

Alivardi Khān occupied the Masnad of Bengal from 1740 to 1751. He also encouraged learning and his court at Murshidabad became the home of learned men. One of them Mir Muhammad 'Alī had a library which contained 2000 volumes.¹⁰²

Gujrat:

Sultān Ahmad, the independent ruler of Gujrat (846 A.H.) was a lover of education and established schools, colleges and libraries. Regarding the royal library of Sultān Ahmad it is written in Tārīkh-i-Badāyuni that after his death his son Muhammad Shāh taking out books from this same royal library, entrusted them to the students of Madrasa Shami-Burhani.¹⁰³ When Akbar conquered Gujrat he distributed some of the books from the same library to the nobles.

Besides the royal library there were many other personal libraries. Sayyid Muhammad Shāh Ālam (died in 880 A.D.) the great saint of Gujrat had a personal library.¹⁰⁴ The library improved during the time of his successor Sayyid Jaffar Badr'Ālam. The former collected rare books for his library from Arabia and Persia. The latter founded a Madrashah and the library was a part of the college.¹⁰⁵

Jaunpur :

During the fifteenth century the Sharqi kingdom

of Jaunpur became an important centre of learning. Its claim to the intellectual leadership of the contemporary India is borne out by the fact that Jaunpur produced a number of scholars and religious reformers who led men and movements. It was known as Shiraz of India. There at that time developed twenty schools of thought,¹⁰⁶ each having on its roll several hundred scholars.

The Sharqi kings were enlightened rulers and they truly patronized authors and scholars. Jaunpur thus became a centre of many good libraries. The cultural eminence and fame of good libraries attracted many scholars from different parts of India. Among the libraries, the libraries of Maulavi Maashuq Ali and of the Mufti Syed Abul-Baqa were well known. The former had a collection of 5,000 volumes.¹⁰⁷

Khandesh

The Deccani Sultāns failed to defend themselves against the onrush of the powerful Mughuls. Akbar conquered Khandesh but the kingdom was not finally annexed to the Empire till the reign of Shāh Jahān.

The Faruqi Sultāns of Khandesh respected scholars, poets and Sufis and they also had a fine library. Ferish-ta visited this library and used some of its books. From one of the books he copied the history of the Faruqi rulers.¹⁰⁸ The British Museum has in its possess-

-ion a letter written to Raja Āli Khān, king of Khāndesh by Malik-ush-Shuna Faizi where he requested the king ~~to~~ to send with copies of some pages of Tughluq Name of the said library.¹⁰⁹

Oudh :

During the decaying days of the Mughal empire the inevitable centrifugal tendency was manifest in different parts of the empire and the provincial viceroys made themselves independent of the titular Delhi emperor. The important of them were the Subahdars of the Deccan, Oudh and Bengal.

The founder of the kingdom of Oudh was Sa'ādāt Khān who was appointed governor in 1724, The ^{line} ~~time~~ ruled Oudh for eight generations with this capital at Lucknow.

The generosity and love of wisdom of Nawāb Āsaf-ud-Dawla (1775-1795 A.D.) encouraged establishment of Madrasas, libraries as well as arts and crafts schools at Lucknow. Thus Lucknow became a very important centre of Islamic culture and began to challenge the cultural dominance of Delhi.

Among the many important libraries in and around Lucknow the Imperial library deserves special mention. From the description of Sprenger, an English-^{man} ~~man~~ who visited Lucknow in 1843 we collect information of the library which stood in the old Daulat

Khana near Gomti. At that time the library was in a neglected and ruined condition. The description of Sprenger runs as follows:-

" I visited the library along with 'Allami Tafa-ddul Khān. It has books to the number of approximately three lacs and a servant is deputed for every hundred books.

"Books of different languages like Arabic, Persian and English, both prose and poetry, were there. Besides Qat'at of ~~Benar~~ penmen, there were fine specimens of Indian, Iranian, European and Turkish paintings, in such large numbers that it would require Noah's life to see them all. I had the opportunity of seeing literary books in countless numbers books like Madarik, Masalik, Mafatih, Kashkul, Bahr-ul-Anwar, etc.

"It has numerous books written in the hand of the authors themselves. On enquiry the Muhtamim told me that it contains some seven hundred such books. When Delhi was ruined, the greater part of that library came to the Royal Library of Lucknow.

"The truth is that this library is rare and valuable to such an extent that even the precious stones of the Royal ~~Library~~ Library can
110
hardly equal it."

Mr.S.A.Zafar Nadir stated that he had seen

many books bearing the seal of the Royal ~~Library~~ Library of Oudh in various libraries of India which corroborates the statement of Sprenger. ¹¹¹

In about 1789 Mirzā Sulaiman Shikoh, third son of Shāh Ālam fled to Lucknow where he was warmly received by Nawāb Āsaf-ud-Dawla. He was a poet and great patron of poets and authors. In his library there were several copies of Diwān of Shaikh Ghulam Hamdani Mushafi. The Rampur library has copies of ¹¹² Diwan bearing the seal of Mirzā Sulaiman Shikoh.

LIBRARIES
OF
THE MARĀTHĀ RULERS

In keeping with the traditions of the time Marāthās encouraged learning and patronized the scholars by Dākshana grants. They used to spend a considerable amount under this head. As a result of this money reward the important cities of Marāthā kingdom and the capital city Poona became centres of Sanskrit learning and home of scholars from different parts of India. The last Peshwā Bāji Rāo II spent every year about four lakhs of rupees in Dākshana grant. ¹¹³

It is very natural that as a result of all these cultural activities there grew up libraries all over Marāthā country. The Peshwas also maintained their own libraries. In 1747-48 Bālājī Bāji Rāo for his own library collected about thirty-six manuscripts from Udaipur and in 1755-56 he also purchased fifteen manuscripts. The Peshwas not only procured manuscripts but got other rare and old manuscripts copied. In 1765-66 the first Mādhava Rāo used to spend every month a sum of Rs. 31.00 for copying manuscripts of his library. ¹¹⁴

Like the Mughals, Marāthās also maintained a big establishment, the imperial secretariat or Huzur Daftar to preserve all state papers, documents and account books with utmost care and order, complying more than ¹¹⁵ two hundred Karkuns or clerks. Besides these each

village used to maintain their own records under the care of the Patil. The village record keepers were known as Kulkarni. The records of the Peshwas from the points of view of authenticity and reliability were ideal. The Daftar-khānā maintained a high tradition till the time of Bāji Rāo II when " The Daftar was not only much neglected but its establishment was almost entirely done away and people were even permitted to carry away the records or do with them what they pleased." ¹¹⁶

LIBRARIES
ATTACHED TO
HINDU CENTRES OF LEARNING

The contemporary centres of Hindu learning such as, Banaras, Tirhut, Mithilā, Nadiā etc. played important parts in the history of Indian library development. The libraries of these institutions contained huge collection of manuscripts on religion, and philosophy as well as on other subjects like medicine, science and history. Dr. Fryer, who travelled in India in the 17th cy. visited such libraries which were filled with Sanskrit manuscripts "unfolding the mysteries of their religion."¹¹⁷ During his travel in India Bernier (A.D. 1656 - 1668) visited Banaras. His letter to Monsieur chapelain despatched from Chiras in Persia on 4th October, 1667 is important as it describes the history of Sanskrit learning at Banaras in the 17th cy. Banaras was then a celebrated seat of learning and home of many reputed scholars. A list of about 69 pundits can be found from Kavindra-¹¹⁸ Ghandrodaya. Kavindrācārya was then leader and all these Pandits of Banaras were held in high esteem by Shāh Jahān and his son Dārā.

Kavindrācārya, a renowned Vedic scholar and well versed in all branches of Sanskrit learning was born on the banks of the Godāvari. But he made Banaras his

abode. He led the deputation of Hindu Pandits to Agra against the pilgrim tax levied by Shāh Jahān on pilgrims of Allahabad and Benaras. He exercised his influence and made the Mogul emperor abolish the tax. Shāh Jahān conferred on him the title Sarvavidyānidhana and also given him a pension, of Rs.2000/-which was stopped by Aurangzeb. Kavindra had a fine collection of manuscripts. The library was catalogued in a classified way. The catalogue was obtained from a certain math of Benaras and it (Kavindrāchārya Sūchi Patra) was published in the Gaekwad's Oriental series. (No.XVII). The library was dispersed after the death of the owner and many of the manuscripts of the said library can be identified as they contain the ~~xxxxxx~~ endorsement "Sarvavidyānidana Kavindrāchārya Saraswatinām Pustakam."

When Bernier reached Benaras he was warmly received by Kavindra in the "University library"¹¹⁹ where he invited six eminent scholars for discussion with Bernier. He wrote "... it has its authors on philosophy, works on medicine written in verse and many other kinds of books with which a large hall at Benaras is entirely filled."¹²⁰ These libraries were preserved with passionate zeal and love and it was a difficult task to procure such manuscripts. Bernier wrote- " . . . those books being of great bulk, at least if they were Bets which were shown to me at

Benaras. They are so scarce that my Agah, notwithstanding all his diligence, has not succeeded in purchasing a copy. The gentiles indeed conceal them with much care, lest they should fall into the hands of the mahomedans, and be burnt, as frequently has happened."¹²¹

The above statement is further corroborated by another traveller Theverot who writes - "They have many ancient books all in verse of which they are great lovers."¹²²

These collections of Manuscripts were preserved with passionate care by the learned Hindu scholars during their life time but after their death the collections were decentralized and some of them were destroyed by the then foreign rulers.

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Chapter - 5

The
Libraries of the Early
European Settlers
of
South India and Bengal
and
The Library of Tipu Sultān

With the rise of European settlements in India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Indian library activities received new impetus. The christian missionaries with a view to propagate religion made endeavour to promote learning, introduce printing and establish libraries. Thus this era was the meeting ground of two different sets of cultural forces, a link between the old and the new. It was marked by changes of far reaching consequences and in the midst of these changes which was destined to broaden into a new horizon, the medieval age saw its burial and the modern age its birth.

Libraries
of
The Early European Settlers
of
South India.
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From 16th cy. onwards the Christian missionaries of South India studied the various Indian languages and written numerous books not only on religion and philosophy but on many secular subjects.¹ They patronised compiling and publishing of South Indian lexicography² and it was through their efforts Tamil³ journalism was born in South India. But the English colony at Madras had no library till 1661.

Through the energetic efforts of Chaplin William Whitefield the first library of the English colony of Madras was started. He had no heavy pressure of work so he with the help and cooperation of local merchants and government officers collected a sum of money. The collected amount was invested in a bale of calico cloth and the bale was despatched in a home bound ship to be sold in London. The sale proceeds were⁴ utilised in purchase of books. The court minute book of the Company records the following resolution under date 20.2.1662-63. -

"It was ordered that the remainder of the proceeds of the Calicoes sold by the Governor, which was given (to) the Minister at the Fort(of Madras) by the Factors and sent home to buy him books; should be sent (to) him in realls of 8(a then current coin)⁵ after the books are paid for" .

The cloth was sold for £ 85 sterling. Books were purchased out of it and a remainder of 23½ pieces of gold were returned to Whitefield. Next year the Directors purchased books worth £ 20/- and sent them to Madras for the use of the official library of Madras. Thus started the Company's library at the⁶ Fort.

Since then the Directors at intervals used to send books for the libraries of the Company. About

1669 they sanctioned a sum of £ 5/- for the purchase of books for the minister Mr. Thomas Bill. The collection was added to Fort St. George library. Walter Hooke, another minister died at Musulipatam and his collection of books was purchased for the same library in 1671. The new Chaplin, Mr. Portman requested in 1675 for . . further addition of books. The Directors sanctioned the prayer but requested the Governor of Fort St. George to send them a perfect catalogue of all the collections. The above request runs as follows:-

"Herewith you have a catalogue of such books as were desired by Mr. Portman to be provided, which we send as an addition; to our library; and in regard we find every Chaplin we send as desirous of an addition; you to send us by the return of these ships a perfect catalogue of all your books both with you at Metchle-⁷patam and the Bay."

From the above note it is very clear that the Directors apprehended some danger in the form of spreading Non-conformity and Calvinism among the servants, became suspicious of their own Chaplins and also suspected that their influence will change the ideas and living standards of the natives. As a check the Chaplin had to keep a list of the persons to whom they (the books) are lent; who are to subscribe their names in the list under title obliging them to return

the books when demanded, under the penalty of paying one⁸ pagoda each". The information as given above is historically important as it shows the first record of lending English books on Indian soil.

In 1695 the Directors sent 300 copies of Portuguese litugies for free distribution among the natives of . . English settlements. But spoken Portuguese being different the books failed to serve the purpose and they⁹ were kept in the Church library of Fort St. George.

Thus the library at Fort St. George was enriched and from the account left by traveller Lockyer, who visited the library in 1703 we come to know that the books on Divinity only of the said library were worth¹⁰ £ 438.

With the publication of Lockyer's - "Account of Madras" the Directors became fully aware of the importance of the library which had been in the meanwhile increased by gifts of books received from many kind persons and also from society for ~~the~~ Promotion of Christian knowledge. About 1714 they wrote to the officers of the Fort as follows:-

We understand that the ~~library~~ library in Fort St. George is worthy of our notice as consisting not only of a great number of books but of a great many that are choice and valuable, John Dolben, Esquire, and Master Richard Elliot and others having made a

.. present of their books (which were considerable) to the library, besides other augmentations ~~in~~ it hath lately received from the Society for Promotion of Christian knowledge. We, therefore recommend the care of the library to our President and Ministers etc. We order our ministers to sort the said books into . . proper classes and to take a catalogue of them to be kept in the library, of which they shall deliver a copy to our President and send a copy home to us; and we desire our President to order two of our servants together with our Ministers to examine the books by the catalogue once a year, that is to say, some few days before the Vestry is held and to make this report at the Vestry. It would be proper ~~&~~ also to put our Chops (stamps) on the said books etc." ¹¹

The above note is also historically important where we find for the first time an arrangement is made for stock-taking of the English library on Indian soil as well as the first instruction to stamp each book for proper identification.

According to the wishes of the Directors a catalogue was sent in 1716. The Directors became dissatisfied with the incomplete catalogue which shows as the "Library appears to be a confused irregular heap". But in 1719 a new Chaplain Mr. Thomas Wendy prepared a satisfactory catalogue for which he was

promptly rewarded by the Governor and the Council with¹²
a palanquin allowance.

Mr. Landon, the Chaplin of Fort St. David which is
a later possession of the Company had a collection of
books. He left in 1707. The Company purchased the col-
lection and started the new Company's library at Fort .
St. David.¹³ The library was not well managed and¹⁴
many books were stolen.

Henceforward the Directors became more liberal
and used to send books for free distribution and allow-
ed free passage. They showed the same kindness in 1714¹⁵
to Ziegenbalg and from 1724 to 1726 to the Society¹⁶
for Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

Mr. H. Dodwell informs us that at Madras Clive was
shown with generous act and he was admitted into the
Governor's excellent library. The collection was made
received by the French occupation and in 1754 the Di-
rectors were requested to send periodic consignment¹⁷
of books but the request was not heeded.

In between 1782 to 1799 the Chaplin repeatedly
complained against this illiberal attitude towards
indent of books and made applications requesting the
Directors to send books as the Chaplins were unable
to meet the demand of the soldiers of Wallajbad,
Arcot etc. as well as to comply with the many
applications that were made to from every quarter.
The changed condition of the then situation compelled

the Directors to be unsympathetic.

Due to growing demand the important monasteries of South India were furnished with libraries of their own. The English surgeon Dr. John Fryer who arrived at Goa during the Christmas week of 1675 says:- "The Paulistines (i.e. Jesuits) enjoy the biggest of all the monasteries at St. Roch : in it is a library, an hospital¹⁸ and an apothecary's shop well furnished with medicines.

The political situation changed with the defeat of Tipu Sultān and the Directory asserted their former liberality towards indent of books at regular inter-¹⁹vals.

The Library
of
Tipu Sultān.
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In 1782 Tipu Sultān on the death of his father Haidar Āli assumed the sovereignty of Mysore.

The Sultān was a great patron of learning and founded an University with various faculties and a good library. Tipu was a great lover and collector of books. "After the first sieze of Seringapatam Tipu always slept on ~~coarse~~ canvas instead of on a bed and at his repasts listened to some religious books which was read out to him.²⁰ " The Sultān had his own personal library within the castle. "In the library of the castle is a copy of the Koran, formerly belonging to Emperor Aurangzeb. It is said to have cost 90,000 rupees and is beautifully written in the Naskh character with elegant ornamentations."²¹ The said copy is now preserved in the Windsor Castle library.

With the heroic death of Sultān in 1799 Seringapatam fell into the hands of the British. They captured the entire royal treasury along with its valuable library.²² The valuable manuscripts of the royal library remained uncared for a long time and later on some of the manuscripts were transferred to London and others to Fort Williams College Library and to the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. "Among the papers

found in his library was a register of his dreams.²³

Major Stuart prepared in 1808 a catalogue of the remaining books and it was published by the Cambridge university. A summary of the contents of the library is given below:-

Koran - 44 vols.; commentaries on Koran - 41 vols.;
 Prayirs - 35 vls; Traditions - 46 vls.; Theology - 46 vls.;
 Sufyism(Mystic writings)- 115 vls; Ethics - 24 vls;
 Jurisprudence - 95 vls; Arts and Sciences - 19 vls;.
 Philosophy =62 vols.; Philology -45 vls.; Lexico-
 graphy - 29 vls; Hindi and Deccani poetry - 23 vls. —
 ... and Deccani prose - 4 vls.; Turkish prose - 2 vls.;
 Tables - 18 vls.; Some of these books belonged to the
 kings of Bijapur and Golkonda but the majority were
 plundered at Chittur, Savanur and Kadapa.²⁴

Major Stuart in his descriptive Catalogue writes:-

"The library consisted of nearly 2,000 vols. of Arabic, Persian and Hindi manuscripts in all the various branches of Mohammanadan literature...Theology or Suffism was his (Sultān's) favourite study. But the Sultan was ambitious of being an author; and although we have not discovered any complete work of his composition, no less than forty-five books, on different subjects, were either composed, or translated from other languages under his immediate patronage or inspection." Thus the Sultān patronised writing and translating manuscripts for his library.

The Sultan loved nicely leather bound volumes for his castle library and Seringapatam thus became a centre good leather binding. "All the volumes that had been rebound in Seringapatam have the names of God, Mohammad, his daughter Fatima and her son, Hassan and Hussain, stamped in the M medallion on the middle of the cover, and the names of the first four Khalifs on the four corners. At top is Sirokare Khodabad (Govt. given by God); and at the bottom Allah Kafi (God is sufficient). A few were impressed with the private signet of the Tipu Sultan."

Libraries
of
The Early European Settlers
of
Bengal

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It is difficult task to reconstruct the library activities of the early European settlers of Bengal due to total disappearance of the East India Company's records relating to Bengal partly due to the great cyclone of 1737 and partly to the sack of Calcutta by Sirāj-ud-daula in 1756.

But it is evidently clear from an account given by Mr. Hyde in his book "Parish of Bengal" that there existed already a library since 1700. Mr. Benjamin Adams, the Chaplain of the Bay arrived in Calcutta on the 16th June, 1709 and on his arrival made an addition to the library. It is highly interesting and historically important that the Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge sent out a circulating library in 1709 to Calcutta. This is the first circulating library in India. The society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge's governors continued their help and sent parcels of books to Briercliffe, which were allowed by the Company to be carried free of charge in their ships.

Thus started the library of Fort William which was in course of time considerably enriched by the addition of a part of Tipu Sultān's library. In 1801 the Fort William college was established for imparting vernacular education to young civilians and these activities gave fresh impetus to the development of the existing library at Fort William.

Since 1783 the Baptist Mission of Sreerampur started printing and translating books. As a result there ~~was~~ formed the nucleus of a library which to-day is ~~praised~~ proud of a valuable collection of Indian cradle books.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in 1784 by Sir William Jones. In its early years the society had no building of its own and the meetings were held in the room of the Supreme Court. In 1805 Government sanctioned a free grant of land at the Park Street, Calcutta and the Society's building, designed by Captain Lock of the Bengal Engineers, was completed in 1808.

The library of the Society was ~~started~~ started with donations and legacies from early members. The transfer of a part of the Fort William library in 1835 added new prestige to it.

Birth
of
The Modern Library Movement
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The beginning of the modern library movement can be traced in the first half to the nineteenth century when. with the active support of the Europeans, public libraries were established at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay

The year 1808 is significant for the history of Indian public libraries. This year the Bombay Govt. initiated a proposal to register libraries which would receive free copies of books published from the "Funds for the Encouragement of Literature".

The Calcutta public Library owes its origin to Mr. J.H. Stocqueler, the Editor of the Englishman. Being encouraged by the success of the Bombay Public Library Mr. Stocqueler took great initiative in framing a project for the Calcutta Public Library. The citizens of Calcutta assembled at a meeting in the Town Hall on August 21, 1835 and unanimously resolved to establish a public library. To pilot the project a committee of 24 men (22 members of the European community and 2 Indians - Baboo Rasik Krishna Mallik and Baboo Rasamay Dutta) was formed who actually started the library in 1836 by shifting the Fort William College Library in the residence of Dr. F.P. Strong, Civil Surgeon of 24 Parganas. At that stage the

library mainly depended on public donations and subscriptions. Prince Dwarakanāth Tagore subscribed Rs.300/- at a time for the library and became the first proprietor of the library.²⁷

In 1841 the library was temporarily shifted to Fort William but finally was housed on the first floor of the Metcalfe Hall.

The library was made open to the public on the 21st March, 1836 with Mr. Stacy as Librarian and Sri Peary Chānd Mitra as sub-librarian. In 1948 Mr. Mitra took charge of the library and turned the library into a centre of debates and discussions.

Thus the library under the patronage and care of important citizens of Calcutta served the needs of the community till 30th January, 1903 when the Calcutta Public Library was converted into a national institution. The secretariat libraries were added to the Calcutta Public Library and the Imperial Library (now National Library) was born. There was thus a streak of light upon the horizon, which was destined to broaden into a new movement for India's culture and learning.

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Chapter - 6

Writing Materials

Through

The Ages

&

Introduction

of

Paper.

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The growth and development of human civilization passed through several stages, each extending hundreds or even thousands of years. The stages in the growth of man may be divided into - speaking, drawing and painting.

In India during the "Drawing Age" man portrayed pictures in the caves or scratched on the sands but in course of time due to volume and variety of demands other writing materials such as leaves, bark, stone, metal, wood etc. were discovered. The materials encouraged the art of writing and its ampler use and thus helped the growth and development of ancient Indian libraries. The materials changed according to their availability as well as nature and purpose of writing.

Paper making was not unknown in Ancient India but it was a rare commodity. The Moghuls introduced large scale manufacture of paper in India and thus ushered a new age in the history of Indian libraries.

During the period under review the following writing materials, besides paper were mainly used in India :-

1. Leaves of (a) Palm (Tāla or Tāda)
- (b) Banana (Kalā)
- (c) Lotus (Padma)
- (d) Pandanus-Odoratiasma (Ketaki)
- (e) Calotropis-gigantia(Mārtanda)
- (f) Ficus bengalensis (Bata)
- (g) Basudal

- (2) Barks of (a) Birch (Bhūrja)
 - (b) Aquilaria agallocha (Sāchi)
 - (c) Mulbery (Tunt)
 - (d) Ficus bengalensis (Bata)
 - (e) Azadirachta indica (Neem)
- (3) Wooden board
- (4) Terracotta board
- (5) Slate
- (6) Bamboo Chips
- (7) Cotton and silk cloth
- (8) Leather
- (9) Stone
- (10) Brick
- (11) Earthen Seal
- (12) Metals -(a) Gold, (b) Silver
 - (c) Copper (d) Bronze, (e) Brass
 - (f) Tin
- (13) Tortoise Shell
- (14) Dust or sand
- (15) Chalk stick
- (16) Ink- Ordinary, Coloured and Invisible
- (17) Pens of metal, bamboo, turg, straw or reed
- (18) Ink pot
- (19) Compass, rulers etc.

Tāla patra, Tāda patra or Palm leaf.

Palm leaves known as Tāda patra, Tāla patra or Panna (parna) were the most common writing material of

ancient India. These were leaves of Palmyra tree which grows in abundance in South India and on the sea-sides. These leaves are easily available, cheap as well as lasting.

The leaves are generally very big in size. The length varied from 1⁰ x 3⁰ and the breadth from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to 4". On separating each leaf from the joints they can be fitted into proper length according to the needs. In order to be fit for the use the leaves should be dried up in the sun, next boiled in hot water and then dried again. Now when they are completely dried up they should be made polished by rubbing polished stone or conch shells. After this they are cut to the proper size.

Two kinds of palm leaves are generally used for writing. One is known as Śrītāla while the other as Tāla only. Śrītāla is grown only in South India specially in Malabar and the leaves are thin^k and crisp and can be used as paper which can absorb ink. Ordinary Tāla is grown all over India and the leaves are coarse and thick.

The process of seasoning Śrītāla leaves is somewhat different. The leaves are buried in the mud for three months after they are dried. For smoking the leaves which have already ~~h~~ acquired brownish colour are kept in the kitchen. From the kitchen they are taken as when
1
needed for writing.

There are two ways of writing on the palm leaves. In South India and Orissa letters were made incised with a pointed pen or stilus and afterwards the leaves were besmeared with soot or charcoal in order to make the incised letters coloured. People in North India wrote with ink. Generally on the long leaves two holes are made on the two sides and the short ones are punched at the centre of the leaf to allow thread to pass through and keep it in tied together volume. During the time of reading the threads are loosened to ~~remove~~ the pages or leaves one after another. Two polished and sometimes pointed wooden planks of the same size of the leaves used to serve as covers. Now the Ms. with covers used to be tied with a string and sometimes wrapped in with a piece of cloth. This process of ~~xxx~~ tying up a Ms. was already current during the time of Harsha (7th cy.A.D.) for Bāna refers in his Harsha Charita to Sūtra-vestani or tying a Ms. by means of string. There is a similiar reference in Vāsavadattā the Subandhu.

~~With~~

Palm leaf MSS. do not last long in the hot and humid climate of South India but they proved to be very lasting in cold countries of North India, Nepal and Kashmir. It is why all the early palm leaf MSS. are found in Northern India.

We find early references of writing on palm leaves

in Jātakas. After the death of Buddha the Tripitakas was first written on palm leaves.² In the Arthasāstra Kautilya mentions in his list of forest products birch (Bhurja) and palm yielding leaves which were used as writing materials.³ Hiuen-Tsang visited India in 629-645 A.D. In the life of his teacher, HWUI LI refers to the Indian use of palm leaf as writing material as follows:

"We come to Kongkanapura . . . To the north of the city is a forest of Talas trees about 30 li in circuit. The leaves of this tree are long and of shining appearance. The people of this country use them for writing on and they are highly valued.⁴

During the Mughal age along with Birch Bark these leaves were "dressed, dried and then used as paper". Abul Fazl,⁵ Pyrard⁶ and Thevenot⁷ corroborate the above fact.

In the 18th and 19th century the village school children were taught writing in four successive stages - on ground, palm leaf, plaintain leaf and paper. On the palm leaf they write with ink and then clean it with a piece of wet cloth. The practice is still continued in far off village. Primary schools and ~~ix~~ in some of the South Indian temples.

Among the early palm leaf MSS. the following few requires special mention:

1. A portion of the drama by Asvaghosha of the 2nd cy.A.D. discovered by the Royal Prussian expedition from

8

Turfan in C. Asia.

2. Portion of ~~M~~ a Ms.⁹ sent by Mr. Macartna from Khasgar of about 4th cy. A.D.

3. The Prina pāramita - hrdayasūtra and Ushrīsa Vijaya dharami MSS. of Hori-uzie temple, Japan. These MSS. were¹⁰ taken from India and may be dated in the 6th cy. A.D. . The size of the leaves is 11½" x 1½".

4. MS. of skanda purāṇa from Nepal Durbar library of¹¹ the 7th cy. A.D.

5. Ms. of the Parameswar Tantra (of the Harsha Era ~~24~~¹² 252 i.e., 858 A.D.) in the Cambridge collection.

6. MS. of Lankāvatara, a Buddhist work (Newan Era ~~28~~¹³ i.e. 906-907 A.D.) from Nepal.

Banana Leaves:

In the medieval Bengal students of the primary schools having finished writing with straw or reed on sand or dust were promoted to the rank where they used to write on Banana or palmyra leaves. Thus we see that Banana leaves were used for practising handwriting for the school students and the practice is still continuing in¹⁴ the remotest part of Bengal.

Lotus leaves:

Lotus leaves were also used for writing letters. The following lines from Kālidās's Śhakuntalā where the king Duṣhantya says : "Here is the folded love letters committed to the lotus leaf with her (Śhakuntalā's) nails";

will prove that writing of temporary nature was done on
¹⁵
 lotus leaves.

Other kinds of leaves:

There is a passage of Yogini Tantra which prescribes that if possible books will be written also on Ketaki (Pandanus-Odoratisma) Mārtanda (Calotropis - gigantia) or Bata (Ficus bengalensis) leaves but whoever shall write on Basudal (other leaves) will face innumerable troubles. ¹⁶ Rājasekhara also refers to letters written on Ketaka flower leaves (Ketakidalalekha) in Karpurmanjari (II 7). Also in Naishadha-charita we find letters were written on the leaf of golden Ketaki flowers with nails (vi.63)

Bhūrja patra or Birch Bark:

The inside bark of the Bhūrja Tree (Betula Bhojpatra) which grows abundantly in the Himalayan region was used as another important writing material in ancient and mediaval India. In order to make it fit for use barks were taken out and then pieces were made of it of various size. According to Alberuni the average size of the cut pieces were one ¹⁷ all in length and one span in breadth. Next those pieces were prepared lasting and polished by spreading oil over them and then they are rubbed with. Like palm leaf MSS. a number of such birch bark leaves were placed one after another and were

pierced in the middle or on the two sides of each leaf in order to pass strings, through them. Finally wooden planks according to the size of leaves were placed on both the sides as covers. Alberuni gives us a detailed description ~~of~~ as follows: -

"In central and Northern India people use this bark of the Tuz tree, one kind of which is used as a cover ~~of~~ for bow. It is called Bhurja. They take a piece one yard long and as broad as outstretched fingers of the hand, or somewhat less and prepare it in various ways. They oil and polish it so as to make it hard and smooth and then they write on it. The proper order of the single leaves is marked by numbers. The whole book is wrapped up in a piece of cloth and fastened between two ~~x~~ tablets of the same size. Such a book is called Puthi. Their letters and whatever else they have to write, they write on the ¹⁸ bark of the Tuz-Tree.

From the account left by Greek historian, Q. Curtius we find the earliest reference to the use of birch bark as writing material. Curtius writes that the Hindus at the time of Alexander's invasion used the bark of Bhūrja-¹⁹ tree as writing material. While other Greek writers like ²⁰ Nearchos alludes to the use of paper made of cotton. In later times it was frequently mentioned as writing material in Northern Buddhist works. The famous poet Kālidās in his work Kumār-Sambhava (Canto 1.7) gives a very

interesting description of Birch bark as writing material which runs as follows:-

"Where (in the Himalayas) the birth barks, spotted like the skin of an elephant, were used by the celestial damsels for writing love letters, on which letters were written with the solution of metals."

The ^{practice} ~~practice~~ of using birch bark as writing material continued till the Moghul period(as is evidenced from the description of Alberuni) and even today we find the use of writing ~~it~~ on birch bark for very sacred books as well as to write sacred hymns which are kept folded ~~within~~ written/amulets or lockets of neck chain. These amulets are known as Tabijs.

The material is widely used in Kashmir and a large number of birch bark manuscripts are found in the collection of Kashmiri Pandits.

The earliest specimen was discovered from Khotan by a French traveller, M. Duthe Vit De-Rhines in 1892. It is a portion of Dhammapada in Prakrit language and written in Kharoṣṭhi script. ²¹ The approximate date of the Ms. is 2nd or 3rd cy. A.D. Another Ms. of Smṛtyagama sūtra written in Sanskrit was found from Khotan while ²² belongs to 4th cy. A.D. Next comes the inscribed ²³ "twists" which were discovered by Masson from Afganistan.

Other important early birch bark MSS. are the Bower and Godfrey collections of about 5th cy. A.D., the Gilgit MSS. of Vinayapitaka of Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism

and
 of about 6th cy. A.D./the Banshali (Near Mardan) MSS. con-
 taining ~~amata~~ a mathematical treatises in the script of
 about 7th cy.²⁴A.D.

Sāchi(acquilaria agallocha)

In Assam barks of Sāchi tree or aloes were used for
²⁵writing.

The Sāchi tree is known in Bengal as Āgar which is
 specially utilised for perfumed chips.

The detailed process of preparing the leaves for wri-
 ting is given below:-

"A tree is selected of ~~1~~ about 15 or 16 years growth
 and 30 to 35 inches in girth, measured about 4 feet from
 the ground. From this the bark is removed in strips, from
 6th to 18½ feet long and from 3 to 27 inches in breadth.
 These strips are rolled up separately with the inner or
 white part of the bark outwards and the outer or green
 part inside and dried in the sun for several days. They
 are then rubbed by hand on a board or some other hard
 substance, so as to facilitate the removal of the outer
 or sealy portion of the bark. After this they are exposed
 to the dew for night and next morning the outer layer of
 the bark (Nikari) is carefully removed and the bark proper
 9 to 27 inches long and 3 to 13 inches broad. These are
 put into cold water for about an hour and the alkali is
 extracted, after which the surface is scraped smooth with
 a knife. They are then dried in the sun for half an hour,

and when perfectly dry are rubbed with a pair of burnt brick. A paste prepared from matimah (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*) is next rubbed in and the bark is dyed yellow by means of yellow arsenic. This is followed again by sun-drying after which the strips are rubbed as smooth as a marble. The process is now complete and the strips²⁶ are ready for use."

Big sized leaves were used for writing of classics and scriptures and also for writing Mss. specially for²⁷ the kings and nobles.

Barks of Tunt, Bata, Neem

Besides Birch and Sachi barks ~~and~~ many other barks were used for writing in India.

The barks of Tunt or Mulbery (*Morus indica*), of Bata (*Ficus bengalensis*) and Neem (*Azadirachta indica*) were used for writing special religious sayings and Mantras²⁸ on them.

Wooden Boards:

The practice of writing on wooden boards was in vogue in India from the earliest time and even today in some parts of India shop-keepers make the rough accounts and calculations on wooden boards, students use them in the class, the astrologers use them for their calculations as well as some poor people of North West Frontier province²⁹ copy sacred books on wooden planks with chalk.

The earliest reference is to be found in a passage

of Vinayapitaka which shows that Buddhist monks in the Pre-Christian Era used to write precepts on wooden boards.³⁰ The Jātakas furnish us with further materials. The wooden boards used by the primary school students as writing material was known as "Phalaka" in Jātakas.³¹ Sandal-wood boards were used as slates by the beginners is to be found in the Lalita-vistāra.³² An inscription of the Śaka king Nahapana refers to the use of wooden boards as writing material. The epigraphical record further informs that those Phalakas or wooden boards were used by the guild-halls for writing agreements regarding loans.³³

Kātayāyana in his work on legal procedure prescribes that complaints should be written on boards with chalk or Pāndulekha.³⁴ Writing on varnished wooden planks was also in practice as we know from the Sanskrit fiction "Daśa-kumārcharita" which tells us of a royal declaration written on varnished board.³⁵ MSS. were written on wooden boards in anct. India like the Burmese Mss. and a Ms. of wooden boards was found in Assam which is now housed in the Bodleian library, Oxford.³⁶ In medieval India black boards were used as described in Naisadha charita (XXII.52). In the 18th cy. students of South India used a common oblong board for writing. They were about a foot in width and three feet in length. These boards were smoothed first and then smeared with a little rice and pulverized charcoal. They also used other kind of

boards made of cloth and stiffened with rice water. Then the stiffened cloth was covered with a composition of charcoal and several gums. These boards when doubled into folds, looked like books.³⁷

Besides boards bamboo chips were used in anct. India³⁸ for writing passports.

Sriharsa in Naishadha-charita~~XX~~(XIX.61) stated that people of medieval India used slates for writing.

Cloth:

Pieces of cloth made of well-beaten cotton known as Pata, Patika, Kārpaśika Pata or Kaditam were also used as writing material in ancient India. But they were not so widely used like palm leaves or Birch barks.

In order to make it suitable for writing as well as smooth and non-porus, a thick layer of wheat or rice pulp was applied first. Then when it became dried the surface was rubbed with conches or polished stones and thus they became glossy and suitable for writing. In Mysore people paste the glue of the tamarind seeds over them and then make them black coloured. They used to keep their accounts on books made of these sheets and write with chalk on them. They are known as Kaditam. Such a record has been found from the Sringeri-Math and the record is nearly³⁹ 300 hundred years old.

These pieces known as Kaditam were used for writing down the accounts of the Mathas, for maintaining list of

the copies of Silā-lekhas or Tāmrāpattas and the list of the Gurus etc. MSS. written on such sheets were found at⁴⁰ Jesalmir, Anhilvadpattan and other places.

The earliest mention of cotton cloth as writing mate-⁴¹ rial is found in the writings of Nearchus and also in⁴² some of the matrical Smritis. The ~~Nasik~~ Nasik inscriptions of the Andhra period furnish us with the information that documents both official and private were written⁴³ on Pata, Patikā or Kārpāsika.

Besides these two more MSS. on cloth are preserved in the Pattan Bhāndārs. One of which is written in 1418 Samvat and consists of 92 leaves measuring 25" x 3". In the Jain Bhāndār at Baroda there is a transcript of Jayaprabhāta written on tracing cloth. The cloth leaves are generally⁴⁴ made by pasting two thick khādi cloth pieces together.

From a Jain temple of Pattan at Anhilvad a book containing such cloth leaves was found. The book is Dharma-vidhi and it is written by Śrī Prabhusuri. It contains a commentary by Udaysinha. It covers 83 leaves and each⁴⁵ leaf is 13" x 5" and is dated 1418 V.E. i.e. 1361-62 A.D.

In Assam, besides aloe wood, tulā-pat was used as writing material. The leaves of which were made by pressing⁴⁶ cotton.

The Jains during the festive occasions used to make Toranas before the temples and prepare coloured maps by pasting coloured grams and rice on cotton clothes.

Silken cloth:

Like cotton cloth silk also served as a medium for writing but being costly they were not used for ordinary purposes. Alberuni informs us that he had been told that the pedigree of royal family written on silk existed in the fortress of Nagarkot.⁴⁷ Dr. Buhler found in a Jain library of Jasalmer known as Brhajjñānakōṣa an index of Jaina Śāstras written with ink on silk.⁴⁸

Leather:

Socrates, on being asked why he did not compose books replied as follows:-

" I do not transfer knowledge from the living hearts of men to the dead hides of sheep."

The above statement and actual remains prove that Greeks and Muslims used to write on hides but the Indians as they had enough of natural writing materials rarely used hides. In ancient India except tiger and deer skins all other hides were considered as impure.

It is why we find ~~xx~~ very few references to hides being used as writing material.

In Subandhu's Vāsavadattā there is a clear reference of hide used as writing material.⁴⁹ Buhler found one Ms. written on hide in a Jain library known as Brhajjñāna Kōṣa of Jasalmer.⁵⁰

Stein discovered many ancient records, correspondence etc. written on leather and wood during the exploration of

the Niya Site and some of which bear the date of the 3rd
 Cy. A.D.⁵¹ As these documents contain Indian characters
 it is possible that they migrated from India."The finish
 given" Stein says, "to the leather of these ancient
 documents indicates extensive practice in the preparation
 of the materials." Leather when once prepared, was thus
 not objected to by the Buddhists of Khotan any more than
 are the leather straps of the sacred books used by the
 Orthodox Brahmans of today in Kashmir and India genera-
 lly.⁵²

Stones:

In order to make the official records which include
 mainly treaties, land grants, agreements, royal proclama-
 tions and orders as well as dedications and commemorations
 and sometimes religious and literary works more durable
 and lasting stone was used as the medium of writing in
 ancient India and the practice is still ~~continued~~ conti-
 nuing all over the world.

Writings were made inscribed on slabs of stone,
 rocks, pillars, walls of civil and religious buildings,
 caves, on the lower parts as well as on the back of stone
 images and also on stone vassels and pots.

The great Indian emperor Asoka(3rd cy.B.C.) who
 issued innumerable edicts all over India clearly stated
 the purpose of engraving them on stone. The chief pur-
 pose as stated in his edicts is to make them last long.
 (Asokan P.E.,11.,Topera Version).

The inscribed writings on stone are known generally as Śilā-lekhas. And those Śilā-lekhas which contain the description of the good deeds in terms of praise of the kings and the grandees are known as Praśasti.

To make the material fit for writing first of all the slabs are chiselled according to the sizes required and then by rubbing with iron or stone slabs they are made polished. Next, if the slabs are too big then with the help of a thread mixed with coloured dust or chalk, if not with a wooden rule the lines are clearly made marked on it. A good calligraphist then writes the subject matter neatly and decently with ink on the slab when it gets ready to be chiselled.

Sometimes slabs of stone after writing done on them are made fixed on the facade of religious or civil buildings and in cases several slabs are required they are made fixed one after another maintaining the continuity of the subject and uniformity of the sizes. Margins are kept on four sides and sometimes the margins are marked with lines. Sometimes the sides are made slanting upto $\frac{1}{4}$ " and the area to be engraved was made lower than the rims on the four sides.

If through carelessness during the time of chiselling some portions was chipped off, it is made filled ~~with~~ up with metals of the same colour and then writing or engraving done on it. Similar case of filling were found in the stone recordings of Harikelinātaka of Chahumana king Vighraha IV and Lalita Vighraharāja nātaka of his

court poet Samadeva. These records are at present housed in the museum of Rajputana.

Many of the stone inscriptions at the beginning as well as at the end contain the signs of Swastika, ~~Chakra~~ Chakra, Trident, Om and the words as - Siddham, Swasti, Hari Om, Swasti Sree etc. The calligraphists did not ~~not~~ maintain a strict rule of punctuation and continued writing lines after lines without a stop. But sometimes some of the words were made separated. To denote a stop the calligraphists used one straight line and two such lines side by side at the end. Sometimes when they write 'verse' they indicated a stop by introducing a figure as is evidenced from the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. It was also found that at the end of a chapter or a subject the signs of lotus, flowers, circle etc. were used as punctuation marks.

On precious stones like marble etc. writing was done generally with small letters in order to accommodate more words on comparatively smaller slabs.

Bricks:

Though less used, bricks like stone also served as a medium of writing of religious texts, dedications etc. in ancient and mediavel India. Inscribed bricks of ~~varied~~ varied sizes and shapes were discovered in different parts of India. The letters were chiselled or scratched on wet clay and then they were baked.

Some intact bricks with writings of Buddhist sūtras were found in the Gapalpur village of the Gorakhpur Dist. U.P. The length of the bricks are $11\frac{1}{2}$ " x $9\frac{1}{2}$ ". Some of them contain 12 to 10 lines while others 12 to 9 lines⁵³ and they can be assigned to 3rd or 4th cy. A.D. There are some earlier specimens in Mathura Museum which can⁵⁴ be dated in the 1st cy; B.C. on paleographical ground. In the province of Bengal innumerable brick temples contain at their facades inscriptions on brick which records the date, name of the donar, the name of the architect as well as the purpose of erection.⁵⁵ Some other specimens of writings on bricks were found from the old fort of Ujjain near Kashipur in the ~~the~~ Tarrai area of Nainital Dist. U.P.

Besides bricks earthen seals as well as pots and wares⁵⁶ were also served ~~a~~ the purpose. The writing on the seals is generally protruding like the press-types.

In ancient India like wooden boards terracotta boards were also used for writing. Two similar boards were identified by Mr. Mackay from the finds of Mohenjo-daro. The size of one of them is 7 inches long by 3 inches wide with a thickness of 0.4". They have no slips. There is a hole through the handle for suspension.

These boards are first prepared with a thick white⁵⁷ coating which is washed off when finished with.

Metal Sheets:

Writing on metal sheets was very popular in ancient India as they were lasting as well as handy. There were two ways of writing on metal sheets - either the sheets were cast into a mould of sand into which letters have been previously engraved or the letters were inscribed on them with the help of chisel and hammer. The rims of the plates were thickened and were made raised in order to protect the writing. The following metals, so far found, used for writing on gold, silver, copper, brass, bronze, iron and tin.

Gold:

There are references of writing edicts, literary works, letters, land grants and moral maxims on gold in Ruru, Kurudhamma and Tesakun Jātakas.⁵⁸ Burnell in his elements of South Indian Paleography further substantiates the truth.⁵⁹ Sometimes they are written in incised letter and sometimes with vermillion on gold plates.

From a stupa named Gangu near Taxilā General Cunningham discovered a piece of writing on gold in Kharosthi Script.⁶⁰

As it was a costly metal, writing on gold was very rare.

Silver:

Like gold, writing on silver was also very rare. MS. writing on silver plaques or plates were found at Bhattprolu⁶¹ and official documents were traced at Taxilā.⁶²

In the Jain temples they generally keep with the images ~~gxx~~ silver plaques which are round and which contain the Mantras incised on them. In the temples of Śvetāmbar sects of Jains in Ajmer four such Navapāda plaques with Mantras and one plaque measuring 1" x 11" with ⁶³ Rishi Mandala Yantra were preserved. In the British Museum there are MSS. written on gilded and silver plated ⁶⁴ ~~62~~ palm leaves.

Copper:

Copper plates were widely used as writing material in India mostly from the 6th cy. A.D.

The kings, governors and nobles used to make ~~fi~~ gifts of land and money to the temples, to learned Brahmins and devout worshippers for patronising learning and religion and the transactions were made on copper plates. These plates were known as Tāmraśāsana, Tāmraphali, Tāmrapatta, Tāmraphalika, Śāshana patra and Dāna ⁶⁵ patra. There were special officers appointed by the king to supervise that these grants were properly executed and made permanent. The man who carries the orders of the kings or the governors regarding execution of the grant were known as Dutakas. Sometimes the names of the "Dutakas" were included on the copper plate grants. According to Kalhana the Kashmirian kings maintained a special class of official known as "Pattopādh-yāya" who were charged with the preparation of title

66
deeds.

Writing on copper plates was done mainly either by a cast in a mould of sand into which letters were previously engraved or the letters were inscribed on them by a chisel and hammer. The Sohagaura copper-plate, the earliest find so far discovered was a cast in mould of sand after the letters, architectural designs and emblems were scratched with a pointed stylus.

First of all some expert calligraphists write the subject matter on copper plates with ink and then the engraver engraves the letters on the plates. Some of the-
67
writings were made by dots in lieu of lines.

Writing on some of the South India copper plates is not deeply incised. Probably they were first of all pasted with clay then were written with some iron pen and finally engraved with some sharp instruments.

In South India sometimes the copper plate grants contain many leaves while in North India they do not exceed more than two. The copper plate grant of Venkatasapatideva of Vijaynagar found at Madura dated Saka Era
68
1502 i.e. 1586 A.D. contains nine pages while the Dānapatra of Rājendra chola issued in his 13th year of his reign and housed in the museum of London University
69
contains twenty one leaves.

The copper plates vary in thickness and size. Page marks were given either on the left side of the margin or on the top of each page. The pages were kept together

by incising a ring through holes and at the end of the ring a royal seal was made incised on a small piece of copper. In some cases the royal seal was made incised on a blank page of the grant and sometimes the royal signature at the end. The required size and thickness of the plates were made by hammering on a piece of copper. If there was any mistake done then the engraver marks the portion plain by hammering again and re-write the part. Some of the plates which contain no writing served as covers.⁷⁰ In order to protect the writing the rims are raised high.

The use of copper plates was prevalent from the Mau-⁷¹ryan period when official decrees were done on copper. The Sahagaura copper plate belonging to Mauryan period⁷² amply corroborates the truth. Fa-Hien, the noted Chinese traveller informed us in his travel diary that Buddhist monasteries possessed copper grants, some of⁷³ which were as old as the time of Lord Buddha.

Hiuen-Tsang visited India in the 7th cy.A.D. and he informed us that Kaniska after the first meeting of Buddhist Council wrote the entire Vinaya on copper plates. The king placed them in a stone box and erected a stupa over⁷⁴ it. Maxmuller informed us that the entire commentary⁷⁵ of the Vedas by Sāyana was written on copper plates,⁷⁶ but Burnell disagreed over this point. There are evidences to prove that even valuable literary and religious works were engraved on copper plates. Works of the Tallapaka family, engraved on copper plates are now housed

77

in the Tirupati temple. We find similar specimens in
Burma and Ceylon and they are now preserved in the British
78
Museum.

The engravers of the Śāsanas were mentioned as Pitalkar,
Lohakar or Ayaskar (copper smith); Sutradhara (Stone masions);
Hemakara or Gunara (goldsmith); a silpin or Vijnanika (arti-
79
san) . The Kalinga Śāsanas mentioned them as Akasalika,
80
Akhasalin or Akhasale (goldsmith caste) .

Bronze, Brass and Tin:

The metals bronze, brass and tin were rarely used as
medium of writing. The specimens so far found all belong
to a very late age. Usually the bronze bells of the temples
contain the name of the donor as well as the date inscribed
81
on them. Bronze inscriptions as found belong late period.

Brass images beginning from the 7th cy. A.D. contain
inscriptions on the pedestals. Brass inscription are found
in the Jain temples and the Jain temple at Achalgadha at
82
Mount Abu had many examples of writing on brass statues.

Tin was rarely used and there is only one example in
the British Museum where a Buddhist Ms. was inscribed on
83
Tin.

Iron:

As a writing material iron was also used but due to
rusting its use was not very common.

There is an inscription written on the iron pillar
of Mihrauli, Delhi near Kutub minar. The date of the

writing in 5th cy.A.D. and is done by King Chandra.⁸⁴

In the Achelswar temple at Abu there is a huge trident with incised writing on it. The trident is made of iron and is dated 1468, Falgoon.⁸⁵

Tortoise Shell:

Writing was also done occasionally on tortoise shells. Two such shells are preserved in the Dacca Museum.⁸⁶

Dust or Sand:

In ancient India students of the primary schools used to practise writing on the floor of the class strewn over ~~th~~ with dust or sand with a piece of straw as the pen. The tradition continued all over India till the Mughal age.⁸⁷

But in Bengal the above said process of writing continued till late. A vivid picture can be traced in Dayārām's "Sāradā-Mangala" where we find that due to great stress a prince had to supply dust and straw to the students. The prince for his very humble work was known as Dhūlā-Kutyā i.e. supplier of sand straw.⁸⁸

The practice continued in South India till the end of the 18th cy. when the young students first obtained knowledge of letters by writing them with his finger on the ground in the sand.⁸⁹

Chalk-stick:

In ~~ix~~ medieval India in/ order to write on slates or

black-boards chalk-sticks (Kathini or Khatika) were used. In *Naisadha Charita* (X.86, XVI.101 & XI.19) we find the mention of chalk-sticks. They were hard and circular in shape (XVI.101).

Letter-Weaving:

Among the ancient crafts figure and letter weaving occupy important place and they are found in the Chinese, Byzantine, Venetian and Indian arts.

In India both letter and figure weaving were in practice widely among the Jains and specimens of such works were published by Coomarswamy in his "Catalogue of Indian collections, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, part 4". One of them is dated Samvat 1766 or 1710 A.D. These narrow cotton bands with designs and mantras on them were used as manuscript binders. Generally they are blue in colour and have brownish red borders.

We find Jain as well as Brahminical mantras woven on them with designs of trident, sword, fan, swastika, temple, tree, flowers, boat, palanquin, lamp etc. Baroda museum has a ~~fine~~ fine collection of these braids. They differ in sizes from 4' x 7" to 11'6" x 7'.

One of such cotton braid from Palanpur, North Guzrat is interesting as "the style of putting mantra on the left side of the letter, instead of the top mostly found in MSS. copied in Jain style and known as Pratimantra or Prsthamantra is adopted in the present instance.

This piece ~~mf~~ is further remarkable because it furnished information about the calligraphic artist who wove the braid on the 5th of the dark half of Bhādrapada in the Samvat year 1739 i.e. 1683 A.D. The name of the Jain clergy is (Rsi) Monohar."

There are two more specimens with large scale wooven-writing is housed in the Baroda Museum. The first one is a bag for keeping the rosary in the shape of a right angle and cow-mouth⁹⁰ while the second one is a cap to cover the heads and ears of the saints.⁹¹

The writings on the former are salutations to Śiva, Pārvati and Gaṇesh. The designs in the lettering are the Linga-Yoni devise sometimes with a trident. The latter (Cap) appears to have been prepared out of a piece of silk and a four verse stotra or hymn composed by Vallabhāchārya wooven on it.

The tradition to have a wrapper either made of cotton or silk with names of the favourite god and goddess wooven on it is widely practised among the Vaiṣṇavas. This piece of cloth of silk wrapper is generally known as Nāmāvali. The names of - Krishna and Rām were written on them. It is still a living practice to use these Nāmāvali during special occasion by the priests and elderly persons.

Pen and Stylus:

Pen in general was known as "Lekhani"⁹² or "Kalam".⁹³ Besides these the other terms used to denote a pen

were as - Varnaka or maker of letters,⁹⁴ Varnikā⁹⁵, Varnavartikā⁹⁶, and Śalākā⁹⁷ (mainly used in South India) and Salai⁹⁸ used in Marāthi language. The reed pen is usually known as Kalama and the rare Indian name for the same is "Isikā"⁹⁹.

The Śalākā or stylus made of iron or steel with pointed top was used to inscribe letters on palm leaves. The stylus was ~~x~~ widely used all over India specially in South India from very ancient time. But the early stylus was made of bone.

From the finds of the archaeological explorations made in Rupar, 60 miles north of Ambala on the Sutlej, stylus¹⁰⁰ was unearthed and they were made of ~~xxx~~ bone. The drawing of the same was published in Ancient India, No.9.1953. The stylus is pointed on both the ends. Similiar stylus made of bone was discovered by Śrī Kālidās Datta at Harinārāyanpur, 4 miles south of Diamond Harbour, West Bengal. It may be dated 3rd to 2nd cy. B.C.

Two kinds of pen were generally used - one to inscribe letters on leaves and the other is to write with ink on leaves, barks and paper.

Abd-er-Razzak, ambassador from Shāh Rukh visited India and went to Vijaynagar. Abd-er-Razzak writes: "The writing of this people is of two kinds, in one they write their letters with a Kalam of iron upon a leaf. In the second kind of writing they blacken a white surface; they then take a soft stone which they cut into a Kalam and which

they use to form the letters; this stone leaves on the black surface a white colour, which lasts a very long time¹⁰¹ and this kind of writing is held in high esteem.

The other kind of pen for writing with ink was made of wood, bamboo, vulture or goose quill and reed. The end of the pen was made pointed by cutting with sharp knife. During the time of Moghuls - as Ovington writes - pen was as thick as a large goose quill.¹⁰² In order to encourage calligraphy Muslim rulers specially Mughal kings rewarded expert writers with bejeweled ink stands and pen. Prince Aurangzeb presented calligraphist Shaikh Farid Bukhari with a robe of honour, a jeweled sword, ink stand and pen. Emperor Jahāngir conferred on him the title "Sahibu-S-Saif-wa-l-qulam"¹⁰³ or Lord of the sword and the pen.

During the Mughal age generally the calligraphists used a piece of reed mended like a quill and it was known¹⁰⁴ as "Persian qulam".

It is prescribed in the Yogini Tantra that stylus made of copper, brass, gold and a kind of large reed (Brihanall) should be used but stylus made of bell metal of white brass should never be used. If used, it will¹⁰⁵ bring disaster to the user. During the medieval India golden pen (Kānchana Lekhanā) was not uncommon as described in the Naisadha charita (X.86).

Ink:

Long before the Christian Era ink was used in India⁹⁹ for writing and it was known by the names of Maṣī and Melā.

From the writings of Nearchos and Q. Curtius we find¹⁰⁷ the earliest suggestions for the use of Ink. These Greek writers referred to ~~xx~~ paper and cotton cloth as writing materials of Indians and thus suggested that ink was used. Direct specimen of writing with ink on a relic vase is found at the stupa of Andher which can be dated¹⁰⁸ to the 2nd cy.B.C. Before engraving some of the Asokan edicts, ink dots were used in place of loops in the formation of certain letters.¹⁰⁹ Besides the Sanskrit term "Masi" was frequently used in Grhyasūtras which¹¹⁰ is undoubtedly a pre-Christian work. In the early Christian era several Brahmi and Kharosthi MSS. written¹¹¹ with ink were discovered from Khotan and India. At¹¹² Ajanta we also find some inscriptions written with ink.

Ink of different colours was used of which black coloured ink was the common type. The other kinds include - red, gold and silver colours.

In ancient India x red ink was used to mark vowels in the ~~handwritten Vedas~~ handwritten Vedas and to mark the marginal lines. The astrologers used to draw the Kundalas or circles of the horoscope with red ink. Sometimes at the end of a chapter the stops and the words as "Bhagavān Ubāch or Rishi Ubāch" were written with red ink.

Nobles and rich people used gold and silver coloured ink for writing sacred and literary works for their own use. Traces of such writings were amply found in the

Jain libraries of West ~~Ex~~ India as well as in MSS. of the Moghul period.

The process of making different coloured ink is given below:-

The ordinary(washable) ink was prepared by mixture of collyrium, kâtha(a kind of vegetable extract) and gum..

Ink for writing on Birch Bark usually was prepared by mixing ashes of the burnt shells of almonds and cow{s urin. When such writing, in course of time become indistinct it can be washed with water. As a result the dirt will be washed off and writing will become more glittering.

The permanent ink was prepared as follows:-

The lamp-suits of Sesamum oil should be collected and bound to a piece of ~~xxx~~ cloth. This bundle will be continuously soaked into the mixture till it become nice black coloured.

* In Assam ink was prepared by mixing distillation of Silikha, Terminalia cisterina and the urine of bulls.

In Bengal it was prepared by mixing Haritaki(the yellow myrobalam) Bahedā(the balaric myrobalam) and the soot of country made lamp. The ink also will last for a
 113
 very long time. Besides these many other local processes were described in the 1st and 2nd volumes of Punthi
 114
 Parichayya published by the Viśva Bhārati.

There were mainly two ways of preparing the red ink. Red ink known as Alaktaka or Āltā is prepared by

boiling the glue of the Popul tree in a earthen pot and then mixing the same with Sohaga and Lodhra. The other process is by mixing vermillion with a kind of gum and water.

Gold and silver coloured ink was prepared by mixing gold and silver pages with gum. The paper on which gold or silver coloured ink will be used should be rubbed with polished stone or shells till the letters become glittering.

We have a very interesting example of invisible ink used by the King of Cooch-Bihar. It was used for writing an epistle which was sent to the Ahom monarch Sukhampa Khora Rājā (1552-1611 A.D.). The Ahom court failed with all the ingenuity to read the epistle. An intelligent man and scholar deciphered the document by reading it in darkness when the letters appeared in their unexpected brightness as they were written with the sap of earthworms. ¹¹⁵

In the Moghul age the pigment like Indian ink was perfected. This ink was used for the purpose of documentation. Lead pencils known as qalm-i-surb was also used in the Moghul age.

Ink-Pot:

Writing was not unknown in ancient India even in pre-historic days. The discovery of ink-pots from sites like Chanhu-Daro and Mohenzodaro corroborates the above truth.

Among the many finds of Chanhu-Daro an ink-pot,

resembling exactly the pots for carrying ink used in Indian villages today is found. "This little object, which has been badly knocked about measures 1.89 inches in height and although no stains or marks of its former contents appear inside, could have been used as an ink-pot. It is hand-made, without a slip and of very careful workmanship a roll-down each of its four corners giving it distinction. The well inside which is not perfectly round, averages 1.0 inches in diameter and 1.52 inches deep.¹¹⁶

Another ink-pot was discovered at Mohenzo-daro. Both Marshall and Sir Arther Evans¹¹⁷ identified the vessel which is in the form of a couchant rum. "The modelling of the head is good but the fore and hind legs are very roughly fashioned. The body is hollow and there is a slightly rimmed aperture, 0.62 inches in diameter, in the middle of the back."

"It would have held plenty of ink and there may have been a pad inside to prevent undue evaporation, as in the many of the modern ink-pots of the East. True, there are no ink stains to be seen in this vessel, but ancient ink had not the staining proportions of modern ink and readily soluble even when it had dried. We should expect ink to have been used by the people of Mohenzo-daro; the material on which they wrote this documents and letters, whether leather, bark or wood, was perishable and would probably not have taken the impress of a stylus.¹¹⁸

In latter period the ink-stands were known as Maṣī-
¹¹⁹ bhajanam, maṣīpātra, maṣībhānda, maṣīkūpikā, maṣīmaṇi
¹²⁰ and malāmandā, melāndhu and melāndhuka .

Round shapped ink-pot with ink-stains were found at Harinārāyanpur, near Diamond Harbour, West Bengal. They are housed in the collection of my father Śrī Kālidās Datta and closely resemble the ink-pots used by students even today in the Pāthsālas or lower primary schools. The ~~ink-pot~~ ink-pot, possibly belongs to pre-Christian age.

~~On~~ During the Sultānate period the ink-pot was known as 'Dawāt' and the custodian of Muhammad Tuglaq's ink-pot
¹²¹ was known as 'Dawātdar' .

Compass, Rulers etc:

In order to draw the kundalas or circles on the horoscope and lotuses at the end of chapters compass made of iron was used. Sometimes the other end of a stylus was flattened in the form of a semi-circle to draw cross-circles and half-circles.

¹²² Ruler~~s~~ or Rekhāpaṭi or Samāsapāṭi was used for drawing straight and parallel lines. It was made of wood or card board with strings fixed at equal distance. Two photographs of similiar specimens were given in - Annedola Oḵoniensia Aryan series, 1,3,66 and Anziege: d.w. Akademik, 1897 No;VIII.

"According to a letter from C. Klemm (dated April 21, 1897) the Ethnological Museum of Berlin possesses two specimens, one from Calcutta with the inscription Niveda-¹²³na pattra and one from Madras called Kidugu."

Paper:

It has been a common theory that paper was first manufactured by China in 105 A.D.

But it is also a fact established that Indians had a knowledge of using and manufacturing paper out of cotton ~~x~~ in the pre-Christian age as is evidenced from the writings of the Greek writer Nearchos who visited¹²⁴ India in 327 B.C.

I-Tsing, the Chinese traveller who visited India in latter part of the 7th cy. A.D. narrates in his record "the priests and laymen in India make caityas or images with earth, or impress the Buddha's image on silk¹²⁵ or paper and worship it with offerings whenever they go." From the above statement it is evidently clear that paper was used as a rare commodity for some special and religious purposes and it was not easily available in India in the 7th cy. A.D.

Due to its scarcity I-Tsing in order to copy Sanskrit Mss. ordered some paper from China as will be clear

from the following lines of his record:-

"At the mouth of the river Bhog(j?) I went on board the ship to send a letter (through the merchant) as a credential to Kwang-chou(Kwang-tung) in order to meet (my ~~friends~~ friends) and ask for paper and cakes of ink which are to be used as copying the Sūtras in the Brahma language(Sanskrit) and also for the means(coat) of hiring scribes.¹²⁶

Though the preparation of paper was known to this country as early as 3rd cy. B.C. it seems that the material was not widely used as writing material as it cannot survive long under the tropical climatic condition and also for the easy availability of other writing materials like palm leaf, birch bark, etc.

The earliest paper MSS. were discovered at Kashgar and Kugier, Central Asia and they were written in Gupta script of the 5th cy. A.D.¹²⁷ . It is difficult to say that the paper used there was made in India.

From the following facts it will be clear that paper was regularly used in India since 1000 A.D.

M.A. Stein mentions in his catalogue of Jammu MSS.¹²⁸ (1894) a paper MS. of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa dated 1089 A.D.

Buhler in his Indian Paleography records the oldest dated paper MS. of Guzrat dated 1223-24 A.D.¹²⁹ A paper MS. of Bhāgavat dated 1319 A.D. is referred to by Gough in his papers.¹³⁰ Baroda Research Institute, Poona has a paper Ms. on medicine named Vangadatta Vaidaya.

It is written by Vangasena and is dated 1320 A.D.¹³¹

In 1345-50 A.D. Mohammad Tugluq introduced paper money in India. We find the word "Kāgad" used for paper in a Marathi document dated 1395¹³² and also in a Jain MS. of Rābhadeva-Charita dated 1396.¹³³

Prof. Kapadia writes - "For, it seems that it was used perhaps for the first time in Guzrat during the time of Kumārpāla(1143-74 A.D.) and Vāstupāla as can be seen from Jinamandanagani's Kumārpāla-Prabhanda and Ratnamandiragani's Upadeśa tarangini.¹³⁴

Paper was manufactured in Bengal and other parts of India before 1406 A.D.¹³⁵ The Sultāns of Kashmir in the 15th cy. established technical school for teaching paper-making¹³⁶. But since ancient times there were indigenous paper producing centres and they are still continuing in some parts of the country where they cover the sheets with think layer of rice or wheat pulp and finally polish with a conch shell or polished stone.¹³⁷

In spite of the fact that paper was not durable like other Indian writing materials the Moghuls introduced paper for writing in the tradition of Bagdad and Cairo. The encouragement of using paper reached a high peak¹³⁹ and the Moghul Govt. was known as "Kāghazi Rāj".¹³⁹

During the time of the Moghuls paper of good quality was manufactured at Kashmir, Sialkot, Lahore, Rajgir¹⁴⁰ Aurangabad and Ahmedabad. Sialkot was famous for paper like Mān Singhi and silk paper which were good

texture and durability. Moghul emperors had a fascination for quality paper produced in Kashmir. It was made of rags and hemp fibre sized with rice water. The finest paper was manufactured at Shahzudpur which was imported to other

¹⁴² countries. For ordinary use coarse paper was used and there were many centres known as "Kāghzipura" around the ¹⁴³ Moghul capitals.

The Moghul practice of using paper considerably influenced the Marāthās. From the stock-taking report of Shivāji's treasures we come to know that there was 11,000 quires of Zar-afsan paper (sprinkled with gold dust), 20,000 of Bālāpuri make, 2,000 of Daulatābādī variety and 32,000 quires of white paper" in the store of Shivāji. The stock-taking was done on the order of ¹⁴⁴ his son Sambhuji.

Ovington in his book - A voyage to Surat in the year 1689 writes that the ordinary Indian paper was smooth slick and glossy. But paper with ornamented with "gilt on all the surface. . . with small flowers interspersed here and there" was used for addressing Emperors, ¹⁴⁵ nobles and grandees. The paper was made glossy by application of a mixture of "gum arabic and Indian ~~st~~ ink."

The manufacture of paper by indigenous methods was carried on in many parts of Bengal presidency including Calcutta, Dinajpur, Patna, Gaya and Shahābad in between 1793 and 1833. Arwal in the Gaya district was a famous centre for production of quality paper. Each

manufacturer at Arwal used to produce about hundred reams a year, which sold at three to four rupees per ream. San and Pāt i.e. jute were used as chief materials for paper making.¹⁴⁶

But we find a different picture altogether regarding paper production in South India. In the early days of the 18th cy. the missionaries in order to propagate their religion found it very difficult to publish books and thus to encourage printing due to scarcity of paper. The above statement will be further corroborated by the following passage, an extract from a letter of Bartholemew Ziegenbalg, a Danish missionary who reached India in 1706 A.D. The letter is dated June, 14th, 1709 which ~~runs~~ runs as follows:-

"There is neither paper nor Leather, neither ink nor pen used by the natives at all but the characters are by Iron tools impressed on a Sort of Leaves of a certain tree, which is much like a Palm tree."¹⁴⁷ He writes again on January 3rd, 1714 - The Scarcity of paper has hindered us from pursuing the Impression to the End of the Epistles."

In order to solve the problem of paper-scarcity Ziegenbalg's letter dated January, 16, 1716 informs us:-

"We are now very busy in building a paper mill, for the Benefit of the mission. Our honourable Governor defrays half the expenses and I, on the mission's account, the other half. The Timber work belonging to

this Fabrick is finished and a few days after we begin the edifice itself. If this Design under God meets with success, it will be very advantageous both to the mission and to all India." ¹⁴⁸

In conclusion we can summarise that paper production was known to Indians long before the invention by the Chinese but in ancient India due to several important factors it was not widely used. Since 1000 A.D. the use of paper received encouragement and the industry reached its climax during the Mughal age. Paper manufacture continued all over Northern India till the middle of the 19th cy. but owing to the introduction of paper mills by Europeans the indigenous manufactures were obliged to wind up their business. Thus the introduction of paper mills add a fresh chapter to the history of paper in India.

Paper stencils:

Paper-stencils were used in medieval India and we find some specimens in the Vaishnava temples of the Vallabhāchārya sect in the north and west of India. One of such specimen is preserved in the Oriental Institute collections of Baroda (No.1305). The stencil contains 10 paper folios and the subject matter is the sanskrit text of Gita Govinda. The size of each of the folios is $9\frac{1}{8}$ " x 4". Out of it $7\frac{3}{8}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$ " was the writing space the rest being the margin on four sides. The paper folios are

are to be read on one side only like perforated designs and paintings.

We are fortunate to have the name and address of the calligraphic artist of these stencils. The name of the artist who has done these paper stencils was Devakrishna and he was a Bramhin resident of Natapadra. The place Natapadra is the modern Nadriad in Kaira district of Central Guzrat.

Regarding the preparation of the stencils Mr.M.R. Mazumdar informs us that these stencils are made in the preparation of temporary pictures upon smooth horizontal surface by means of coloured powders or they are utilized just to transfer a design on cloth or on paper or on smooth walls, by pouncing through a pricked or perforated original.

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CHAPTER 7

Binding
of
Manuscripts & Books
Through
The
Ages

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The history of the art of binding is an interesting chapter in the process of making manuscripts or books. Binding or covering is essential to protect manuscript or a book, which has taken several months or years to write and illustrate, to make it complete and ready for use. The story of the development of binding varies from age to age and differs from country to country.

In ancient time people realized the utility of covering and as a result the clay tablets of the Assyrians were cased within clay envelopes and the papyrus rolled manuscripts were kept within wooden cases.

In ancient India prior to the introduction of paper books were written generally on palm leaves, birch barks or on copper plates. Sanskrit equivalent for book is "Grantha" which comes from "Granthan" and it means sewing. The other word "Pustaka" is derived from Avestan language. It is derived from "Post" which stands for "things piled up one upon another and sewn and bound together".

Palm-leaf manuscripts of India are pierced either with one hole in the middle or with two, one on the left and other on the right of each leaf. Two holes are done only in cases of long leaves of the manuscripts. The leaves are placed generally tight between ~~the~~ two wooden boards and strings are passed through the holes to keep

the leaves together. The manuscripts are then wrapped over with pieces of cloth or silk. The largest manuscript measures 36" x 2½" in size while the smallest measures 4½" x 1½" in size. Some of the wooden book covers were decorated either with carved floral and geometric patterns or with coloured paintings and drawings with a varnish applied on them. Similar process was prevalent in Europe before the Crusade.

The author has in his private collection a palm-leaf manuscript containing twelve leaves with illustrations of ten incarnations and verses related to them. For convenient use the leaves were stitched through the lower and upper parts of first and second leaves and the same process is repeated all through. Thus it has become very portable one and can be easily carried in one's pocket.

To keep the manuscripts safe from the atmospheric effect the leaves were tied with the string or strings air-tight. There is a proverb in Bengali "পুঁথিতে পুঁথির মতো পালবে আর কামড় মতো বাঁধবে।" ² which means that one should maintain a manuscript with the care of a son and should bind it hard like an enemy. In South India and also in some other parts the covers were pierced by holes to let the strings pass through them. In the Jaina libraries of West India some of the manuscripts were kept in cotton-cloth sacks and these sacks were placed in metal boxes. Only in Nepal the covers used for valuable manuscripts were made of embossed

metal.

Generally manuscript covers were made of seasoned wooden-boards of Sāl(*Shorea robusta*) or Seguna(*Tectoria Grandis*) trees. Boards made of Jackfruit tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) are also found. Besides these covers were also made of cane-weaving and skin.³ Skin or hide covers are very rare.

In Assam manuscripts dealing with the story of the goddesses of snakes or with the adventures of Behula⁴ were wrapped up in Cobra skin.

Bark of Sāchi tree or Aloes wood were used as material for writing in Assam. Leaves thicker than those used in the body of the manuscripts were used as covers.⁵

The birch bark manuscripts were rolled in a fashion of a volume of classical antiquity. Generally long ~~strips~~ strips of birch barks have been used for manuscript writing and for the practical point of view of preservation they have been kept in rolls as folding will break the bark ultimately.

The earliest rolled birch-bark manuscript was found in Central Asia, Khotan. The man who found it - split it upto into two parts and sold them to the French Mission of Dutriuil de Rhines in 1892.⁶ and to the Russian Consul at Khasgar, Petrovsky.⁷ This manuscript was composed of long stripes of birch bark, held together at the two sides by a thread stitched

within one centimetre of the edge.

The other important example of rolled birch bark manuscript is preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris.⁸ This is a Ms. of Bhāgavatgītā and the size is 1760 mm. in length and 45 mm. in width.

Birch bark manuscript sheets trimmed to the size of palm leaves are not very rare. The Bower Ms. published by Rudolf Hoernle, the Buddhist manuscripts discovered in Bamiyan (1930) and Gilgit (1931) are important examples of this imitation type.

The middle portion of these palm-leaf shaped barks were left unwritten. The unwritten space provide place to punch the centre of the leaves and to get a string pass through them. Like the palm leaf Mss. they were placed between two wooden boards.

The recent birch bark manuscripts of Kashmir are written in Sarada script. "The sheets are no longer oblong with the lines running parallel to the wider side but rectangular with the lines parallel to the narrower side. They have no hole for passing the thread and are often bound in the manner of Persian, books and Kashmiri books on paper. The sheets are folded in two and placed one within the other in small bundles. The hinges of each bundles are pierced by thread and attached by them to a rigid back of leather. But the bark, when folded, often breaks, and the majority of the ancient bound volumes have come to us in loose sheets.⁹

But like the books of paper their format varies. The formats of the manuscript of Vānaparvan of the Mahābhāratta which was collected by Foucher Mission in North Western India and is housed in the Bibliotheque Nationale as well as of the manuscript of the Paippalada recension of the Atharva-veda, housed in the University of Tübingen vary. The size of the former is 25 cm. by 30 cm. while of the latter is 20 mm.¹⁰ by 25 mm.

Copper plates were also widely used in this country as writing material. Sometimes more than one plates were used for one document and they were fastened together by a copper ~~ring~~ ring¹¹ passed through round holes made on the plates. Generally the hole was made on the left central part and the diameter of the hole is $\frac{3}{8}$ " while the average diameter of the ring is 4". For a document containing several plates sometimes two rings were used. The rings which served the purpose of the threads or strings went through the lower and upper parts of the first and second plate and it goes in the same way. This process was introduced for the convenient use¹¹ of the readers.

Sometimes one complete book contains five or six plates and the ring whose two ends are soldered and which passes through a hole holds them together. The outer sides of the 1st and last plates remained blank and thus served the purpose of covers. The rims of the plates which contain writing were generally raised to protect the embossed letters.

For example the following three descriptions are given below of three separate copper-plate inscription sets:-

- (1) The set of copper plates of Ananta Varman Choda Gargadeva (C.P.No.6 of 1918-19) contain three plates strung in a circular ring. Here except the front side of the 1st plate which served as front cover all other plates¹² on all sides contain writing.
- (2) The copper-plates of the time of Eastern Ganga king Madhukamarnava Deva (C.P.No.5 of 1918-19), contain 3 plates of which the 1st and 3rd plates contain no¹³ writing and therefore acted as covers.
- (3) The Copper plates of Rāja Rāja I (C.P.No.4 of 1918-19) and of Vajrahasta, E.Ganga King (C.P.No.3 of 1918-19) contain respectively five and six plates. In the former the 1st plate has no writing on its front side and the last or fifth plate with writing erased served as covers¹⁴ while in the latter as usual the first side of the first plate has no writing. The last plate or the sixth plate is a defaced plate and being rejected¹⁵ was used as cover.

~~The~~ The Tiruvalangadu Charter of Rājendra Chola I (1012-1044) consists of 31 large sheets while the Karanli (near Tanjore) charter of Rājendra Chola I consists of¹⁶ 55 large sheets. Both of them were strung on massive rings.

With the introduction of paper in India the book was made up of gathered sheets. The sheets arranged or gathered

together were stiched to hold them together. These quires were sewn with threads passed around two or more thongs of leather at the back of the book.

Previously the manuscripts were mainly placed between two wooden covers. But to make it more convenient it was found to join book and boards together by fixing to the boards the ends of the bands holding together the sections. Accordingly leather covering was introduced to cover the boards.

Early books in India were composed of single sheets gathered together or folded and collected into gatherings or sections. The gathered sheets were held together by chain-stitch and in passing blue linen on the boards. The sections were held by ~~it~~ sewing them on the flexible bands or thongs at right angles to the back. The leaves of the books were sewn together before putting on the boards.

During the Muslim age in India we find manuscripts written on paper were sized in imitation of palm leaves. Codex or bound books were in use simultaneously. But with the increasing power of the Muslim Emperors during the Mughal age the splendour of the bindings and their decorations developed considerably.

The art of book binding made a prosperous development during the time of the Mughals. Humāyūn, the son and successor of Bābur while living in Persia as an exiled monarch during the time of Shāh Tahmāsp was strongly influenced by

the artistic activities of Tahmāsp's court. On recovering the throne he extended his royal patronage to the encouragement of the arts and crafts and appointed Persian painters and book binders.

The story of the migration of the art of book binding from Ethiopia to India is highly interesting. Moreover it is important to note that with the increasing power of the Muslim empire the art flourished as it was they who built tanneries and produced excellent raw materials.

"The learned Arab philologist Al-Jahz says in one of his works that the Abyssinians claimed the credit of having introduced to the Arabs, along with other things, the codex or bound book (Mushaf), the form in which its contents are most easily, most strongly and most beautifully kept. We have no reason to doubt the truth of this statement, all the less as the Arabic word Mushaf or Mishaf is actually borrowed from the Ethiopic"¹⁷.

The art of book binding thrived considerably in South Arabia as from an early period the leather industry was highly developed in S.Arabia. About 570 A.D. Persia liberated S.Arabia from the Abyssinians and contributed to a great extent to the development of the leather industry.

In India during the time of the Mughals, the nobles and the emperors employed Persian binders who were master artists in handling materials like paper and leather.

Leather was used for book-binding in Kashmir long before the Muhamedan conquest,¹⁸ but it was not in common

use in the pre-Islam age.

Since the days of the Mughals leather was widely introduced in India as book binding material.

Under the royal patronage of the Moghals the decorative side of the art of book-binding, art of calligraphy and book-illustration made remarkable progress. The text of the books were written on fine Zar-afsan paper mounted on Dawalatābādī frames which are also richly sprinkled with gold and each page presenting a different shade of colour. The Moghul emperors used to love and admire the art passionately and pay high prices for them.

Humāyun paid for a copy of Tuhfat-us-Salatine by Mir Āli Rs.2500/-. This statement is written on the title page of the book. Nūrjahān purchased for 3 Muhurs a Diwan of Mirzā Kāmran. Munim Khān presented Bahādur Khān a sum of Rs.500/- as ~~reward~~ reward for a richly bound copy of Kulliyat of Hazrat Shaikh Sādi in 976 A.H. A copy of Yussuf-Zulai-¹⁹kha was purchased by Jahāngir for 100 Muhurs. Aurongzeb purchased the beautifully written and bound manuscript of Koran for Rs.9000/-. It was written by Harun Ben Bayazid in A.D. 1613-14 and is now housed in the Royal Library of ²⁰England.

The manuscript of Shāh Jahān Nāmā was written by Mohammed Amin of Meshad in 1685 and it was fully ornamented and illustrated. The Nawāb of Lucknow purchased the same for £ 1500. In 1779 the British Minister of Lucknow sent the volume to George the 3rd through Lord Teignmouth, the then

Governor General of India. A coloured reproduction of the splendid front cover of the manuscript is published in the journal of the Indian Art and Industry, Vol. 5, No.43(Plate No.69).

In Muslim India book-binding was recognised as an art and book-binding department was an essential part of the library work. Almost in all big libraries the filders, margin-drawers and book binders were appointed along with the other officers of the library. The able binders were highly paid officers.

The Muslim binders introduced a new method of decc- rating the leather covers. First they used to enrich the cover with stamped designs and the sunken parts were filled with gold print. Later a new process was introduced when the colour was permanently fixed by re-impressing the heated tool through gold leaf.

The following four types of leather binding developed during the Muslim days and these designs with minor changes found their way in European workshop.²¹

(1) Delicate floral and arabesques designs were

executed by making an infinite number of impressions.

(2) A central device stamped and enriched with gold.

Above and beneath it and in each corner are shaped panels sunk below the surface and decorated with lace like ornaments.

(3) At the centre there is one pointed oval panel

which is quartered in each corner.

- (4) A similar design with central and corner devices is tooled in gold.

Coloured illustrations of some of the above specimens were beautifully reproduced in the Journal of Indian Art and Industry No.43 Vb. 5.

Ulwar was an important centre where some of the best specimens of book-binding were done.

The chief artist Kari Ahmed and his two sons Kari Abdul Rahman and Abdul Khalik were employed by the chief of Ulwar. Kari Ahmed who was previously in the service of the emperors of Delhi came to Ulwar in 1820 in the invitation of the Mahārāja ~~of~~ Banni Singh to bind a celebrated copy of Gulistan of Shekh Sadi. His eldest son who had his training in ~~Persia~~ Persia assisted his father in painting the borders. After the death of Kari Ahmed the art degenerated. "In their hands (Abdul Rahman and Abdul Gaffar) the art is likely to become a mere trade and degenerate. Already defects are seen which were never noticed in Abdul Rahman's work. It is in this way that so many beautiful arts are lost in India. A man of real genius developes an art from some hints he receives from strangers or it may be, discovers it himself, but from jealousy or from fear of destroying his monopoly, teaches only the members of his own family, who may not share his skill but too often are without genius and thus in the course of a generation or two nothing remains but a shadow²² or parody of perhaps, an exquisite production."

In the art of decorative book-binding the Ulwar artists maintained a tradition for a fairly long time. Like the traditional artists the son and grandson of Kari Ahmed used the same brass-blocks handed down from their father and grandfather.

The Ulwar artists generally ornamented the book covers ~~and~~ after the Grolier style in which colours are painted on the boards and are not inlaid. "In most of the designs the pattern is produced by the use of brass-blocks. The colours are then painted with the brush. The Ulwar artist sometimes colours the whole of the ground and at others only part of it, so as to produce very different effects by the use of same blocks.

"The edge of (the leaves) the books are frequently painted with designs in colours; for example, the Gullistan has a pretty border in coloured outlines. The outsides of this work are done in gold on a blue ground, the back is a painted gold pattern on a black ground and the insides also have a different fold design on a blue base."²³

The binding of the volume - "Acts of Guidoballo II, Duke of Urbino 1559-68" which is housed ~~x~~ in the British Museum reminds us of the Ulwar style with sunken compartments, the latter gilt and stippled, the raised surface blue, the whole covered with scroll work in colours and gold respectively. In the centre like the Ulwar tradition there is shield of arms.

The pigments used by Ulwar artists were generally minerals and were very lasting.

During the end of the 17th century Europeans~~in~~ introduced new technique in binding of books. This is corroborated by the following statement of Rev. Ovington, who visited India about 1689 -

"They (Indians) can imitate a little the English manner²⁴ of binding books."

With the introduction of ~~primer~~ printing in India and gradual growth of book production, a new situation confronted the binders who failed to cope with the amount of work. As a result a new class of professional binders grew up and the art was turned into a trade. Thus the art of binding books was transferred from a group of traditional craftsmen to the house of professional binders and they started to print their names, initials or device stamped on book covers.

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CHAPTER - 8

Illumination

and

Illustration

of

Manuscripts and Books

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Illumination
and
Illustration
of
Manuscripts and Books.

It was not long after man had learned the art of manuscript or book making that he gave thought to their embellishment and beautification. There are two ways in which manuscripts or books could be more attractive and interesting to their readers - one, by illumination or ornamentation; the other, by illustration.

Illumination of manuscripts and books is the art of embellishing them by ornamented letters, floral and geometric designs and by painted pictures on the border of the pages. The purpose of illumination is thus to decorate the book or manuscript as the English term is derived from Latin and Italian verb - "illuminare", which means - "to throw light upon", "light up" or "brighten". Thus its purpose is to beautify the object of devotion rather than to clarify its contents.

Book-illustration in general is the art of representing pictorially some ideas or incidents which have been expressed in words. The illustrator's work is the complement of expression in some other medium.

The earliest illustrated book in papyrus belonging to the early 20th cy. B.C. It contains about thirty figures depicting a ceremonial dramatic play written for Pharaoh Sesostris I of the 12th dynasty. Next in antiquity several copies of illustrated "Book of the Dead" were found where within a broad rectangular framework of horizontally oblong leaves, the texts confined by well marked borders is skillfully matched on the top by a running band of illustrations. The copies are preserved in the British Museum, Louvre, University Library of Princeton. According to Professor K. Weitzman, the great authority on the "Book of the Dead" we find here the earliest examples of the cycle method of illustration.

The earliest illustrated Greek and Roman classical books were influenced by the Egyptian pattern. S. Runciman writes that Alexandrian models went out and were copied all the over the Greco-Roman world.

The Egyptian and Greco-Roman papyrus rolls contained simple illustrations depicting events described in the texts. "Once a picture or a cycle of pictures, illustrating a literary or religious or scientific text, was created, it usually became the pictorial archetype of later illustrators of the same text." As a result the illustrations of the Bible, Homer or of any scientific or religious texts were confined to few archetypes and the types of illustrations were sometimes used from one text to another.

In the 3rd Cy. B.C. European books instead of being continuous rolls, were folded and stitched and bound together in wooden boards. The two early illustrated Latin codices - the copies of Virgil preserved in the Vatican library are the earliest illustrated codex. The codex cannot be earlier than the 4th cy. A.D. and later than 6th cy.

Thus the art of book-illustration was widely practised during the beginning of the Christian Era at Alexandria, in the Byzantine empire and in the middle ages of Europe.

In India we find the first trace of illustrative records on the rectangular seals and amulets of Mohenzodaro and Harappa where we see a harmonious combination of animal and human figures with pictographs arranged in parallel horizontal compartments. These illustrative records may be dated in the 3rd millennium B.C.

India has the art of painting in a fairly developed state from Pre-historic days and the history can be traced both from the actual remains as well as from literary sources. Due to perishable nature of the materials on which the Pre-Christian Indian paintings were done, most of the traces were lost and we have to infer references from early literary sources. It is evident from Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana that there were guilds of painters, painted halls and royal palaces and painting occupied an important place among sixty four kalas. Even the ladies of the aristocrats were proficient in the art. The Vishnudharma-Mahā-Purāṇa ~~xxx~~ which may be dated in the 3rd or 4th cy.

A.D. elaborately discusses the rules for making Chitras or paintings. These evidences corroborate the truth that painting was largely cultivated and used in ancient India and it is very natural to assume that they used this art as a method of elucidating a written text.

After the discoveries of innumerable illustrated manuscripts from different parts of India particularly from eastern and Western India it is now established beyond doubt that the art of book-illustration developed in India and was extensively used.

As for the early reference of illustration on Sanskrit manuscripts we can name the Srauta, Sulva-Sūtras¹, Charaka Samhitā and a number of early treatises of Śilpa Śāstras,² where the sacrificial tools, altars and diagrams of surgical instruments etc. were depicted through pictorial representations and the diagrams and illustrations were done in context to the related texts. Some of the treatises on ancient warfare were illustrated with sketches of Chakras, Vyūhas etc. and the Rājabhallaḥ of Mandana will³ furnish us with such further references.

Like Dr̥śya-Kāvya or drama Chitrakāvya or book-illustration was used to present things in visible form. Chitrakāvya ~~was~~ ~~known~~ was known to Sanskrit literature where poems and parts of the texts were arranged within "Bandhas" or forms. The commonly used Bandhas are Ratha (Chariot), Padma (lotus), Khadga (sword) or Sarpa (snake) etc. The manuscript

"Chitra-Kāvya Bandhodaya" written by the 18th cy. Oriya poet Upendra Bhanja contains the possible forms of Bandhas with illustrations. The manuscript is preserved in the Oriya Seminar library of Viśva-Bhārati. Rhetorical work like *Sāhi-⁴tya Darpana* of Viśvanāth will further clarify the point.

The stone inscriptions on pillars of the Bhoja Śālā in Kamal Maula Mosque at Dhar and other at Un in the Indore State are engraved within Sarpa Bandha, i.e. in the form of intertwining serpent.

Besides Bandhas, Akshara-Nyāsa or distribution of letters within a pictorial or geometrical form is also prevalent in Tantra literature from very early days.

Strictly speaking, these Chitra-Kāvyas as represented by various Bandhas cannot be classed as book-illustrations. Here the Bandhas were particular forms and the texts were written within the limited space permitted by outline of the form. These forms had no organic relationship with the text concerned. Hence the Bandhas cannot be called book-illustrations.

The early available illustrated manuscripts of India contained miniature paintings of gods and goddesses having very little organic relationship with the texts. On this ground Dr. A.K. Coomarswamy wrote - "Indian art has never developed book-illustration as such and the illustrations take the form of square panels applied to the page without organic relation to the text."⁵ The statement of Dr.

Coomarswamy may be partly true but it cannot be accepted as a whole. Dr. Coomarswamy perhaps overlooked some of the important illustrated Sanskrit manuscripts. He did not consider the illustrated manuscripts so far found of Rāmāyan, Mañbhārata, Bhagvat Gītā and the Buddhist and Jain religious texts.

Dr. Hirānand Śāstri, ex-director of archeology, Baroda and Epigraphist, Govt. of India very ably refuted the theory of Dr. Coomarswamy. He said - "To me a view of this nature appears ~~xxxx~~ to be far from reality. Book-illustration of various ages and a number of illustrated manuscripts found in different parts of India vitiate it." ⁶ In support of his statement Dr. Śāstri published the small book - "Indian Pictorial Art as ~~Development~~ Developed in Book-illustration", ⁷ ~~xxxx~~ where he proved his theory with many examples. Dr. V. Rāghavan in his article published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras (Vol.27 p.1-iv) furnished us with a list of illustrated manuscripts available at present in Indian museums, libraries and .

In the light of recent discoveries of innumerable illustrated manuscripts from all over India and the development of the art under the patronage of Muslim emperors specially under the Moghuls the statement of Dr. Coomarswamy regarding total non-availability of book-illustration in India requires modification. The statement does not depict a true and correct picture.

From the early medieval period we find a good number of

illustrated manuscripts preserved in a fairly good condition. Miniature paintings generally used to illustrate religious texts and the script was harmoniously and aesthetically integrated with the paintings. The arrangement of painting and calligraphy on the palm leaf manuscripts was done either by dividing the oblong surface into three sections with the ~~xxx~~ picture at the centre flanked by horizontal rows of writing on both the sides. The other arrangement was done by placing the two rectangular miniature on both the sides of the central ~~xxx~~ space kept reserved for writing, But ~~xxx~~ this was not strictly followed. The oblong shape of the leaves and the method of binding determined the layout, illustrations and writing. In the case ~~manuscripts~~ where the holes are made at the centre for binding, the oblong space ~~manuscripts~~ is divided into three quarters - the central one being the smallest and kept reserved for making the hole while painting and writing are done on the ~~x~~ two sides. In case of manuscripts where no hole is made at the centre for ~~xxx~~ binding, writing was done on the two sides with illustration at the middle.

The introduction of paper enabled the artists and calligraphist to use wider space and thus changed the character of illustrations. The artist having the privilege of using wider space introduced elaborate scenes, bigger composition with various types of border designs. The artist also had the scope of using more colours like gold, silver, uranium blue,

uranium and orange yellow. In the palm leaf manuscripts the space had the greater dimension horizontally while on the paper it had vertical scope.

"The folios of the paper manuscripts become larger running to a size of 11 by 4½ inches in the 15th cy. scripts and reaching still greater dimensions in the 17th cy. when Mughal influence in painting crowds out old western style, showing there a size of as much as 16 by 6 inches and ~~next~~⁸ possibly larger."

The traditional spacing or layout of Indian manuscripts underwent a radical change in Mughal and Rajput works between 1550-1800 A.D. From horizontal the emphasis was placed on vertical. Greatest care was taken to embellish the miniature. A complicated system of finishing the illustrations developed. The panel forming the central portion of the scheme with picture proper was done by a superior artist while an artist who specialised in handicrafts looked after the border and mounting-enriched by flowers, foliage and figures or ornamented by sprinkled gold effect. At the junction of the "Taswir"(picture) and "Hashia"(border) invariably occurred a narrow decorated band called "Phulkari" and the two lines of colour usually made in gold.

Contact with the Islamic world and the introduction of Arabic calligraphy changed the style and pattern of Indian manuscript illustration. The following characteristics became prominent:-

- 1) Illustration became independent of the text and

2)The rhythmic flowing lines of Persian and Urdu characters replaced the old Indian scripts.

But inspite of the Muslim influence some of the Rajput and regional manuscripts of 17th to 19th cy. maintained the orthodox style through harmony of painting and script.⁹

In the orthodox Indian style generally the copist used to keep some space (alekhyasthāna) reserved for illustrator. The copist after finishing his writing used to pass it over to the painter. Sometimes the calligraphists wrote on the margin hints for the guidance of the artists. With regard to this Prof. Brown writes:-

"Two persons were employed, the copist of the text and the artist of the paintings. On the manuscript folios the copist marked off rectangular spaces for the illustrations before he wrote down the text; this fact is clear from the minute examination of pages which show the writings running over the lines that bound the panels for the pictures."¹⁰

But the case was not always true as depicted above. When the copist knew the art of painting he used to ~~both~~ do both the work. Dr. Hirānand Śāstri confirmed the above fact saying:-

"I do not know if general assertions like this could be made (as stated by Prof. Brown) . . . In some cases Prof. Brown's statement might hold good for some manuscripts do show lines running over the panels which were set apart for ~~the~~ pictures. But it is not always the case ~~when~~ even with Jain Mss. I have seen Indian and Tibetan painters writing manuscripts and adding pictures simultaneously. As I have already stated,

Kashmiri pandits do so very often even now-a-days." Dr. Sāstri also referred to the name of a illustrated book "Jain Chitra Kalpadrum" which supplies several examples in his favour. What Dr. Sāstri tried to establish is no doubt true but such x cases are very rare. Considering the volume and variety of Indian book-illustration we can conclude that such case where the artist and the calligrapher in the same person are very rare and exceptional.

Illustrated manuscripts of Eastern India

During the reign of Pāla kings(750-1155 A.D.) Eastern India made remarkable contribution in the fields of art, literature, philosophy and education. Under the patronage of the benevolent rulers eminent authors and poets produced many important works. As a result manuscript writing and illustration received special encouragement.

Due to nature and iconoclastic zeal of the foreigners the majority of the manuscripts were destroyed. We have very few remains and even from them we can see that illustration on palm-leaf manuscripts was widely prevalent at that time.

Among the illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts of this age the following are important. One thing we should

point out here that some of the illustrations had no direct relationship with the text.

(1-2) Two Ashtasahasrikā Prājñā-pāramita Manuscripts dated in the 5th and 6th year of Mahipāla, the first king of Pāla dynasty. One of them is in the Cambridge collection (Add.1464) while the other is in the Collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Asiatic Society manuscript has 12 illustrated panels, three in each folio depicting the events of Buddha's life and other Mahāyāna Buddhist divinities.

3. Astasahasrikā Prājñā-pāramita manuscript dated in the 39th year of Rāmpāl. (Formerly in the Vrendenburg collection).

4-5) Two Astasahasrikā Prājñā-pāramita manuscripts dated in the 19th year of King Hari Varma and another belongs to about 12th cy.A.D. Both of them are in the collection of Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, East Pakistan.

6) Ashtasahasrikā Prājñā pāramita manuscript in the collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal and dated in the Newari Era 191 i.e.1071 A.D. It contains 35 miniature illustrations of gods and goddesses and important temples of Buddhist pantheon.

The illustrations are alike Cambridge manuscripts bear descriptive labels.

7-8) Two manuscripts one of Karandavyuha and the other of Bodhicharyavatāra both belonging to about 12 cy.A.D.

and belong to the V.R.S.collection.

- 9) The manuscript No.20589 of the Boston Museum dated in the 4th year of Gopāla. (The reproductions of the illustrations were published in the portfolio of India Art by Coomarswamy).
- 10) The Swamura manuscript (Illustrations were published in *Ostasistische Zeitchrift*, Berlin, 1926, plates 9-10).
- 11) *Ashtasahasrikā Prājña pāramita* manuscript of the British Museum dated in the 15th year of Gopāla.
- 12-13) The *Pancarākṣa* manuscript of the 14th year of *Nayapāla* and another manuscript (Add.No.1643) dated in 1015 A.D. are now in the Cambridge collection.
- 14) *Ashtasahasrikā Prājña pāramita* manuscript of the Asiatic Society of Bengal dated in the Newari miniature illustrations depicting Buddha in the different episode of life (No.4203).
- 15) *Ashtasahasrikā Prājña pāramita* manuscript of the A.S. of Bengal dated in the 18th year of the reign of Govindapāla i.e. latter ~~xxxx~~ half of the 12th cy.A.D. It contains illustrations of Buddhist divinities only on the last folio.
- 16) A manuscript in the collection of Sri Ajit Ghosh of Calcutta.
- 17) Two *Pancarākṣa* manuscripts in the collection of A.S. of Bengal. One is dated in Newari Samvat 385 i.e. 1265 A.D. and the other in Śaka Era 1211, i.e. 1289 A.D. Each contains illustrations of five *Pancarākṣa* goddesses.

The above mentioned manuscripts with illustrations come from Bengal (including East Pakistan), Bihar and Nepal and they belong to the same group when viewed from the stylistic point of view. It is why they are considered as one group and belong to East India.

The illustrations are referred to above cannot very strictly be classed as "Book-illustrations" as they are not directly related with the text. The illustrations represent pictorial representations of gods and goddesses as Tārā, Lokanāth, Mahākāla, Amitābha, Maitreya, Vajrapāni Etc. The miniature illustrations considerably help to identify the images of Vajrayāna and Tantrayāna cults iconographically.

The colour composition of all these illustrated divinities were determined by the iconographic rules. Generally green, white, Indian ink-black, yellow, indigo blue and red colours were used. The outline is sketched out first either marked with black or red and later filled in with colour.

The tradition of this art of painting can be traced from Ajanta and Ellora and they can be broadly divided into two classes as Classical and Mediaval . Dr. Kramrish in the article published in the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (Vol.1, No.2) fully discussed the point and showed that the classical type is plastic whereas mediaval is linear. Dr. Nihār Ranjan Ray also supported

the view and said - "The classical ~~xxx~~ type is of a thoroughly plastic conception whereas the mediaval is linear. Both the types, as we have seen above, appear simultaneously and side by side but sometimes they are also fused together as in some of the Ellora paintings as well as in good number of East Indian illuminations.¹³" The tradition of linear treatment also found its expression in the drawings on copper plates of Bengal. Three such copper plates⁴ engravings were so far discovered and they are as follows:-

- 1) An 11th cy. copper plate with engravings of a bull and a tail piece referred to by Dr. Coomarswamy in Oc. 1926 p.3.
- 2) The engravings on the Sunderban copper plate of Dharma-pāla
- 3) The Mehar copper plate housed in the Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta University.

"The technique of East Indian Book illustrations is ~~xxx~~ mainly calligraphic. The draughtmanship is unusually strong and having regard to the material - fragile and soft palm-leaf on which the drawing is made, the beauty¹⁵ of line and colour cannot but evoke one's admiration" .

Illustrated manuscripts of Western India

Like the East Indian Buddhist palm-leaf illustrated manuscripts, manuscripts of Guzrat and Western India, mainly Jain are remarkable for their coloured illustrations, brilliant decorations and skillful draughtmanship. The Western Indian illustrated manuscripts can be broadly divided into two periods, the earlier consisting of palm-leaf and later paper manuscripts. They were found with the Jain Bhandars and they may be dated from 12th cy. and onward.

Guzrat was fortunate to have illustrious rulers like Siddharāja Jayasīṅga (1094-1143 A.D.) and Kumārpāla (1143-1174 A.D.) who were great patrons of learning. During their time innumerable libraries grew up all over the land. Writing, copying, illustration received great encouragement from the kings, nobles and average people.

The earlier Western Indian manuscript illustrations not being organically related with the text may be called "illuminations". Scholars like Dr. Moti Chanda had termed them as illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts not considering the sharp difference between illustration and illumination. The illustrations, if they are so called, of the palm-leaf West Indian manuscripts mostly contain decorative designs as well as figures of gods and goddesses of iconographic importance. Besides these, illustrations of donors, monks, Tirthankara etc. were also found.

Dr. Moti Chand in his book - Jain Miniature paintings from Western India has divided the ~~illustrations~~ illuminated palm-leaf manuscripts into two groups on stylistic grounds. The first group comes within the years 1100-1350 A.D. and the second group between 1350-1450 A.D.

The second group of illuminations are stylistically more refined with finer details and improvement of colour compositions. From the view point of subject matter events from the lives of Jinas were introduced in harmony with the text. As a result "illumination" gradually changed towards the characters of "illustrations".

The important finds of the first group are listed
16
below:

- 1) A manuscript of Nisithachurni which mainly contain decorative, floral and geometrical designs. It was written by Deva Prasāda at Bhrgukachchha (Modern Broach) during the period of Jaysimha who ruled Guzrat from 1094 to 1143 A.D. The manuscript is dated 1100 A.D.
- 2) The palm-leaf manuscript of Shatkhandāgama with Dha-valā Tikā, an important religious text of the Digambar Jains and was written between 1113-1120 A.D. It contains miniature illuminations of goddess Chakēsvahī, monks, Jinas and decorative designs.
- 3) Next comes the palm-leaf manuscript of the Jñātā Sūtra dated 1127 A.D. It contains two illuminations one of the seated Śrī Mahāvīr Swāmi and the other of the goddesses of learning.

- 4) The manuscript of *Dasavaikālika Laghuvṛitti* dated 1143 A.D. It contains (possibly) the portraits of Śrī Hemchandrā-Chārya and his disciple Mahendra Sūri and Kumārpālā.
- 5) The manuscript *Ogha Niryukti* and six other books dated in 1116 A.D. The manuscript contains 19 figures of goddesses of important iconographic value.
- 6) The manuscript of the Mahāvira charita, the 10th Parvan of the *Trishashatīśālākāpurusha charita* by Hemchandra. It contains there miniatures depicting possibly the portraits of Kumārpālā and of his preceptor Hemchandra and also a representative of Śrī Devī.
- 7) Then comes the manuscript of the *Neminātha Charita* dated 1241 A.D. It contains miniature paintings of goddess Ambikā and Tirthankar Nemināth.
- 8) The manuscript of *Kathāratnasāgara* dated 1256 A.D. contains illustrations of Pārsavanāth and Jain monks and nuns.
- 9) The manuscript of the *Srāvaka-pratikramana-chūrṇi*. It is dated 1260 A.D. and comes from Udaipur, Mewar. It contains six miniatures.
- 10) Next we find 5 miniatures representing Jain monks and nuns in the manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* dated 1260 A.D.
- 11) According to chronological order comes the two following:-

The manuscript of *Kalpasūtra* and a version of the *Kālakāchārya kathā* is dated 1278 A.D. It contains iconographic

illustrations of Brahma-Sānti, yaksha and Luxmi.

And the manuscript of the Subāṅkathā and seven other kathās contains 33 miniatures depicting the story of Nemi-nāth's life. It is dated 1288 A.D.

Many ~~xxx~~ undated palm-leaf manuscripts with illustrations belonging stylistically to the 1st period are in the collections of Sarabhai Nawab, in the Sanghavina Padana Bhāndār, Pattan and also in the Jaisalmer Jñāna Bhāndār.

The illustrated(?) Manuscripts of the 2nd period are given below according to chronological order:-

- 1) The manuscript of the Kalpasūtra and Kālakāchārya Kathā contains six illustrations depicting the different scenes from the life of Mahāvira. The date of the manuscript is 1370 A.D.
- 2) The manuscript of Kalpasūtra (collection of Seth Ānandji Mangaljini Pedhina Jñāna Bhāndār at Idar) contains 34 miniatures depicting some sacred symbols and scenes from the life of Mahāvira. Prof. Normal Brown has dated the manuscript in the last part of the 14th cy. A.D.
- 3) The manuscript of the Siddha-Haima-Vyākaraṇa belong to the same period and contains four illustrations depicting the following scenes -
 - (a) Jaisimha deva requesting Hemchandra for writing the Vyākaraṇa.
 - (b) The book after completion is taken to the temple of Pārsavanāth in a procession.

- (c) The Karman, the minister of Ānandaprabha Upādhyāya requesting for making a copy of the same.
- (4) The illustrated manuscript of the Rati Rahasyam dated in the early 15th cy. A.D.
- (5) The illustrated manuscript of the Vāsantara Vilāsa dated in the 15th cy. A.D.

In Western India paper was introduced extensively by the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th cy. A.D. The introduction of paper considerably encouraged book production and widely extended the scope of the artists' work. During this period innumerable palm-leaf manuscripts were copied on paper. Along with the increased use of paper book illustration received greater impetus. The artists freely used gold and silver colours and decorated the manuscripts with rich border of animal, floral and geometric designs.

The most prolific sources of materials for the Western Indian school of painting are the numerous palm and paper manuscripts of two Svetāmbar Jain works, the Kalpasūtra and the Kālakācārya kathā with miniature illustrations from the lives of Jinas.

Guzrat has been a centre of Vaishnavism. It is why Vaishnava miniature comprising the "Bhāgavat", the ~~"Gita"~~ "Gita Govinda" and the "Bāla Gopāl stuti" were profusely produced. Besides, Sakta miniatures from "Devī Mahātmya" and the secular miniatures from "Rati Rahasya" were ~~found~~

also found.

The arrival of alien rulers unnerved the peace loving Jainas. The new conditions made it urgently necessary to preserve their scriptures. The pious and wealthy donors specially the merchant class achieved religious merit by commissioning copies of the most important texts. This is other important factor which encouraged production of illustrated manuscripts in large numbers.

The earliest manuscripts of the paper period (1400-1600 A.D.) of Western India are the Kalpasūtra manuscripts dated in 1415 A.D. One of them is housed in the Bombay Asiatic Society Library while the other is with Anandaji Kalāyanji Pedhina Jñāna Bhāndār, Limbodi.

The next illustrated Kalpasūtra manuscript dated 1427 A.D. is in the collection of India House, London which contains 113 leaves (31 for Kalpasūtra and the rest for Kālakāchārya) and 46 illustrations.

15 other illustrated Kalpasūtra manuscripts belonging to the 15th c. were found. The majority of them are housed in the Jñāna Bhāndārs of Pattan and Baroda. A complete list with their respective detailed descriptions are given by Moti Chandra in his book - Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India.

The other important illustrated paper manuscripts so far found are:-

1. The Uṣṭaradhyayana Sūtra (dated 1472 A.D.)
2. The Devī Māhatmya ¹⁷ containing 12 miniatures (1400 A.D.)

3. The Bhāgavata Dasamskanda dated 1610 A.D.
4. The Bāla Gopāl Stuti . One manuscript is in the ¹⁸ Boston Museum while the other is in Baroda Museum. ¹⁹
5. The Gita Govinda with 7 miniatures ~~now~~ housed in the ²⁰ Kalkamata temple, East Gujrat.
6. The Gita Govinda ²¹ in the collection of Sri N.C. . Mehta belonging to the later period of 15th cy.
7. The Rati Rahasaya in the collection of Mr. Sarabhai Nawab (15th cy. A.D.)

Mughal patronage to the art of
manuscript illustration.

Mughal emperors from Bābur to Shāh Jahān encouraged the art of painting though Mohammadanism had fundamentally no association with pictorial art.

Bābur(1483-1530) who conquered Hindusthan in 1520 extended his patronage to the art of painting and manuscript illustration. The great conqueror in his memories (Persian Version) which is housed in the collection of the Mahārājā of Alwar mentioned the name of the painters Bihzad and Shāh Muzzaffar. Like the Timurid princes Babur passionately loved painting and preserved finely ~~illustrated manuscripts~~ illuminated and illustrated manuscripts. His acute love for these possessions is proved by the fact that when he fled to Kabul he carried with him manuscripts which had been illustrated by the famous painters of Hirat.

Humāyun(1508-56) the son and successor of Bābur due to lack of military genius passed 15 years in exile in Persia and there he came in contact with the court artist of Shāh Tahmasp. The Timurid x tradition in Humāyun received further encouragement by his contact with the great painters of Tahmasp's court and on returning back to Delhi he brought a band of Persian painters.

The marvellously illustrated manuscript of the romance of Amir Hamza is the most important example of book illustration of this period. The greater part of it is preserved in Vienna while twenty five pages of the same are housed in the Indian Museum, South Kensington, London. The pages of the manuscript were of the size of 22" x 28 $\frac{1}{4}$ " which allowed the artists to use larger method of presentation in the style of the Persian Frescoes done on the palaces of Persian Kings of the 15th and 16th centuries.

It consisted of twelve volumes and each volume contained one hundred folios with a picture on each folio. These were painted on cotton.

For illustrating the romance of Amir Hamza fifty painters were employed who worked under the guidance of Mir Sayyid-Āli, a native of Tabriz and later by Abad-as-Samad, who hailed from Shiraz. Humāyun came in contact with the later during his period of exile. When he regained the throne he invited the artist to his court. The former artist was highly patronized by the emperor and he conferred the title - Nadir-al-Mulk or "The Marvel of the Realm" on him.

As it was not possible to finish their great work within the short reign of Humāyun, Akbar took up this work and finished this noble undertaking.

Akbar (1542-1605) studied painting under Abd-as-Samad and had a great predilection for painting and book illustration.

Being firmly established on his throne in 1570 he devoted more attention towards the cultural pursuits. Abu'l Fazl, the ~~panegyrist~~ panegyrist of Akbar informed us that there were more than one hundred artists in his court who used to live in a separate building at Fathepur Sikri and who used to work under the guidance of Persian artists Mir Sayyid 'Alī and Khawaja-Abduṣ-Samad. The emperor personally inspected their works consisted of mainly book illustrations and portraits and rewarded them according to their merits and excellence.

Akbar's respectful love for painting is best expressed on his own words which run as follows:-

"There are many that hate painting but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God, for, a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after another, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is forced to think of God, the Giver of life and will thus increase in knowledge." ²²

"In the same manner as painters are encouraged, employment is held out to ornamental artists, gilders, line

drawers and pagers."

"The number of master pieces of painting increased with encouragement given to the art. Persian books, both prose and poetry were ornamented with pictures and a very large number of paintings was thus collected. The story of Hamzah was represented in twelve volumes and clever painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story. The Chingiznāmā, the Zafarnāmā, this book (Ain-i-Akbari), the Rāzmnāmā, the Rāmāyan, the Nal Damayan, the Kalilah Dam-²⁴ bah, the Ayar Danish were all illustrated."

His intense love for book illustration can be seen best from the great series of paintings done to illustrate the romance of Amir Hamza. Humāyun started this huge work and it was continued by Akbar. From Ma'athirul Umara we come to know the following:-

"Each volume of Amir Hamza contained one hundred folios and each folio was a cubit (zira) long. Each folio contained two pictures and at the front of each picture there was a description delightfully written by Khwaja Ata Ullah Munshi of Qazwin . . . No one has seen another such gem nor was there anything equal to it in the establishment of any king. At present the book is in Imperial²⁵ library." The Imperial library of Akbar contained many such magnificiently illustrated books. Akbar's copy of the Persian Version of Mahābhārata contained 169 miniatures.

The execution of this volume is said to cost £ 40,000.

Like the illustrations of the romance of Amir Hamzah a set of twenty four large paintings depicting scenes of war and bloodsheds are preserved in the Indian section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, S. Kensington. These paintings were done in Kashmir about the middle of the 16th cy. to illustrate a manuscript which ~~was~~ has not yet been identified.

The illustrations of the manuscripts of Rasikapriyā, a book on rhetoric and literary analysis is another interesting example of this age. The author of this work is Kaśava Dās and it was written in 1591 A.D. It is a purely Hindu work and is written in Hindi Nāgri characters but lavishly illustrated by a Mughal artist. The Boston Museum possesses there leaves of the manuscript with illustrations on both sides; the Metropolitan Museum, New York two complete leaves; the British Museum one leaf and the rest are partly in the possession of Dr. Coomarswamy and Ross collection.²⁶

Between 1560 and 1580 the Muslim court at Ahmednagar, Deccan, patronised art and painting and a group of pictures to illustrate love poetry were produced. The style with their sharp and stately curves was derived from the wall paintings of Vijaynagar.

For book illustration the team work of the artists was the fashion of the day. A group of artist used to divide the varied types of works as marking the outlines, colouring, drawing the faces and the figures etc. amongst themselves

and work collectively. The Clarke manuscript of Akbarnāmā preserved in the South Kensington Museum, London is beautifully illustrated with bright colours chiefly red, yellow and blue and in the audience scene the outlines of the picture were drawing by Miskin, the faces by an artist whose name is indistinct, the ²⁷ figures by Madho while the painting was done by Sarwan. In another manuscript the Waqiah-i-Babari or History of Babar written and illustrated about 1600 A.D. towards the close of Akbar's reign (British Museum or 3714) Havel noted names of twenty two artists who worked ²⁸ on the different aspects of this project.

One of the illustrations of Durabnāmā, a book of stories from Shahnāmā is supposed to have been done by Akbar's order. Previously this was in the Royal library of Lucknow and now preserved in the British Museum (B.M. or 4615; suppl. cat. p.385). The painting (fol.103.rev) represents two men and a woman within a rocky scene and it contains the signature - "Amal Bihzad wa istah Khāja Abdul Samad" means that the composition was done by Bihzad and was later corrected or touched ~~x~~ up by Khāja Abdul Samad, a favourite artist of Akbar.

Jahāngir (1606-1628) like his father was a great patron of art and many of the artists who worked for his father, remained in his service.

Jahāngir patronised art of painting not much to illustrate manuscripts but to draw separate pictures for his art gallery. But he was not altogether devoid of his

liking for this type illustrations as we find that on the day of his accession he brought out the selected illustrated manuscripts from his father's library and with his own hand recorded dates on each of them. The lavishly illustrated manuscript of Kalila va Damnah completed in 1606 and housed in the British Museum (Ms. Add. 18579) is the most important example of this age.

During the time of Akbar and prominently during the time of Jahāngir western influence became very prominent. "An album of copies of European pictures, made by Keshab Dās was completed in 1588, Jahāngir displayed an even greater interest in European paintings and obtained numerous examples, both religious and secular, from the Jesuits, from Sir Thomas Roe (the English Ambassador) and from the Portuguese traders. Many of the European pictures were copied in miniature size." ²⁹

Shāh Jahān who ruled from 1628-1659 was also a lover of painting but the patronage of the court was not sufficient to support the painters who flourished considerably under the rules of Akbar and Jahāngir. There developed a class of Bāzār painters only intermittently employed by the grandees. Thus ~~stake~~ started the decay of the art of painting and book illustration which received its death-blow from Aurangzeb.

But ~~inspite~~ inspite of the lack of patronage ~~and~~ and appreciation at the Imperial Court the art of book illustration continued in some of the states ruled by Hindu

princes.

In the collection of the Mahārāja of Banaras there is a beautifully illustrated manuscript of Rām Charita Mānasa.

This is complete in five volumes and it contains more than 500 illustrations. The volumes are nicely bound in Banarasi brocade. It was done in about 18th cy. and it costed ..

³⁰
Rs. 160,000/-.

The Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris has in its collection many illustrated manuscripts ~~on~~ on Hindu Mythology. Amongst them a copy of Bhāgavat Purāna which contains 76 illustrations deserve special mention.

Work and Metal Engravings:

With the introduction of printing in Bengal some of the publishers in the beginning of the 19th cy; became eager to illustrate their publications. During this time the art of engraving on steel or copper was widely prevalent in Europe but in Bengal there was no such opportunity. The Bengal artists just started the craft on less hard materials like ³¹ wood or soft metals.

The wood-engravings as were produced on Bengali books were not very highly artistic but from the historical point of view they are valuable.

Father Lawson was a famous wood-engraver of that time and some of the artists of Bengal had their training from Father Lawson. Among the famous native wood-engravers of the

names of Rāmachandra Roy and Rāmdhan Swarnakār deserve special mention. They were also masters of the art of copper plate engravings. Most of the illustrations of Bengali almanacs were wood-engravings and even to-day, such illustrations of the almanacs reminds us the tradition of wood-engravings.

On the otherhand we find the artists who made the steel engravings were also expert in wood-carving. Some of them were trained up by foreign experts. Some of the artists attained considerable mark of proficiency as will be evidenced from the following lines of the 2nd annual report (1818-19) of the Calcutta Book Society:-

"Jayca's Dialogues on Mechanics and Astronomy..... The highly creditable execution of the plates by a native artist, Caśheenath Mistree, deserves particular mention, as evincing the progress already made by the natives in the elegant and useful art of engraving on copper."

The ~~xx~~ earliest printed book with engraved illustrations is Anandā Mangal by Bhārat Chandra. This book was published by late Gangā Kishore Bhattācharya and was ~~xxx~~ printed in 1816 at Calcutta. It contains six wood and copper plate engravings.

The following books contain wood-engravings:-

1. Kālī Kaivalyadāini by Nandakumār Bhattāchārjee
published in 1836
2. Bhāgavat Gitā. Printed in 1836 at the press of Pitāmbar Sen of Sivadaha.

3. Nūtan Panjeka. Published from Navadvīp in 1242 and 1243 B.S.
4. Hara Pārvati Mangal by Rām Chandra Tarkalankār of Harinavi in 1857
5. Annandā Mangal. 2nd ed. was published from Purna Chandra daya press in 1264 B.S.
6. Panchadaśī end Edt. was published in 1862 A.D.

The illustrations of the above titles were published in Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā, 2nd issue of 46th year, 1346 B.S.

A list of Bengali Books with both wood and metal engravings are given below:

1. Sangul Ranga by Rādha Mohan Dās. The volume was published in 1818 and it contains six engraved illustrations done by Rāmchandra Roy depicting "Rāg Bilāsh", "Dūpak Rāg" etc.
2. Gouri Bilāsh by Ram Chandra Tarkalankār. The volume was published in 1824 and it contains four wood and copper engravings depicting the goddess Durgā with ten hands etc. The engravings were done by Biswambar Ācharya.
3. Gangā Bhakti Tarangini by Durgā prosad Mukhopādhyā. The volume was published in 1824 and among the illustrations done by Biswambar Ācharya the most important is "Bhagirath Gangā".
4. Bhāgavat Gītā translated by Rām ratna Nyāya panchānan. The volume was published in 1824.
5. Biddonmod Tarangini by Chiranjib Śarmā. It was published in 1825. Among the illustrations done by Mādhav

Chandra Dās "The Court scene of Vikrama Sen" is famous.

6. Batris̄ Sinhāsana. Published in the press of Biswānāth Deb in 1824. It contains two illustrations done by Biswambar Āchārya depicting - the court scene of Vikramāditya" and "Batris̄ Sinhāsana".

7. Ānanda Lahiri by Rāmchandra Vidyālankār. It was published in 1824 and contains one copper plate engraving depicting - 'Sri Rājrajeswara' by Rūpchānd Āchārya.

8. Annandā-Mangal was published in 1828 at the press of Pitāmbhar Sen. It contains 10 copper plate engravings done by Birchandra Datta, Rūpchānda Āchārya, Rāmdhon Swarnakār and Bāmsāgar Chakravorty etc.

These volumes Nos. 6, 7 and 8 are preserved in the library of Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.

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CHAPTER - 9

LIBRARY TECHNIQUES AND ADMINISTRATION

Classification

Cataloguing.

Building

Administrative set-up

Staff - status and pay

Preservation.

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The history of the growth and development of libraries is partially reflected in their administrative systems. A study of the administrative systems of ancient and medieval Indian libraries will reveal their aims and objects as well as will throw considerable light on the social and cultural history of India.

Very little is known of the administrative methods and practices of ancient Indian libraries. As the libraries grew and their scope extended during the medieval ages, the methods and practices of administration and control became more and more standardized. The office of the librarian evolved by differentiation of the function from other duties, special care was taken for upkeep and preservation and systematic arrangements were made for classification of written records. In this chapter an attempt was made to describe the systems of knowledge as well as utilitarian classifications, process of cataloguing, administrative set up including the buildings, staff - their pay and status as well as methods and techniques of preservation.

Scribes and calligraphists of India played a vital role in propagating the cause of libraries particularly in the pre-printing age. To complete our story a detail study was made of them which will help to evaluate their contribution as well as their social position and status.

..CLASSIFICATION:

It is true that from the beginning man tried to name and differentiate things. Though in a very crude form still classification actually started before man was a rational being. Thus the history of classification runs parallel with the history of human thought. ..

In course of centuries and through a process of evolution the power of human thinking developed and the early thinkers attempted to class or group things according to their imagination and perception. Ancient countries like Assyria and Egypt long before the birth of Christ devised some crude systems for grouping their ~~like~~ library materials.

But attempts to classify the whole field of knowledge were first made by Indian philosophers long before the time of Plato(428-347 B.C.). The early philosophers and thinkers of India endeavoured to make a complete survey of knowledge and substance and classify the compartments into branches and sub-branches taking consideration of their relation to one another.

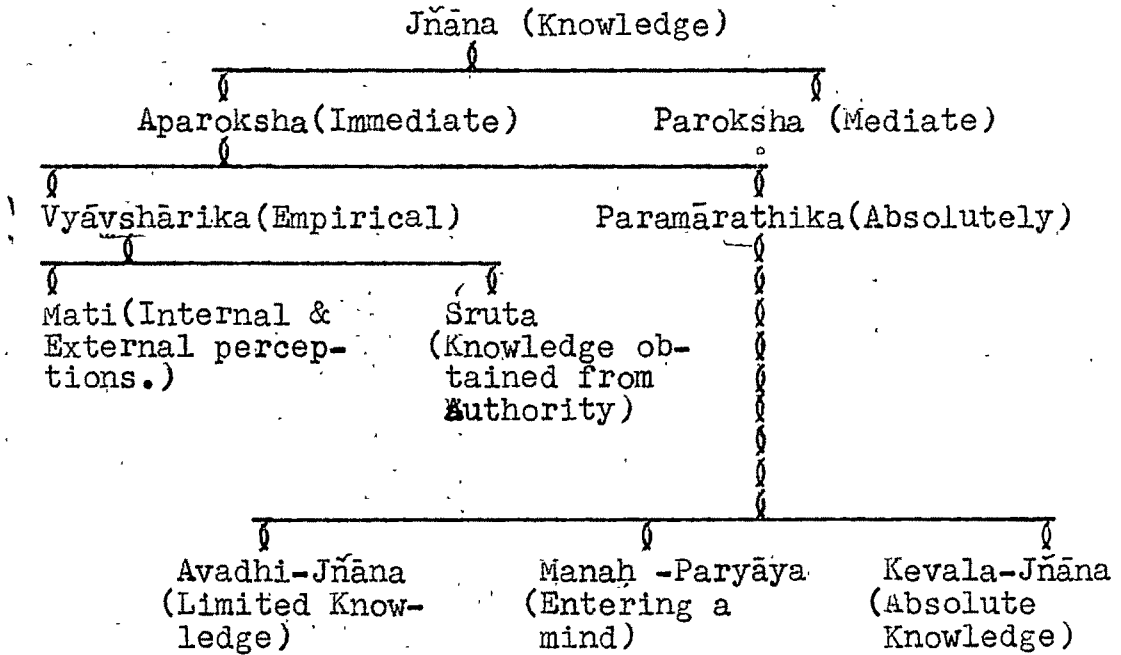
Since the time of Plato European scholars and philosophers made attempts on this line and nearly thirty schemes were devised before the time of Francis Bacon in 1605. Special mention should be made of Porphyry (305 A.D.), Capella (439 A.D.) Roger Bacon (1266 A.D.), Aldus Manutius (~~482xx~~ 1498 A.D.), Conrad Gesner (1548 A.D.) etc.

Classification - Philosophical

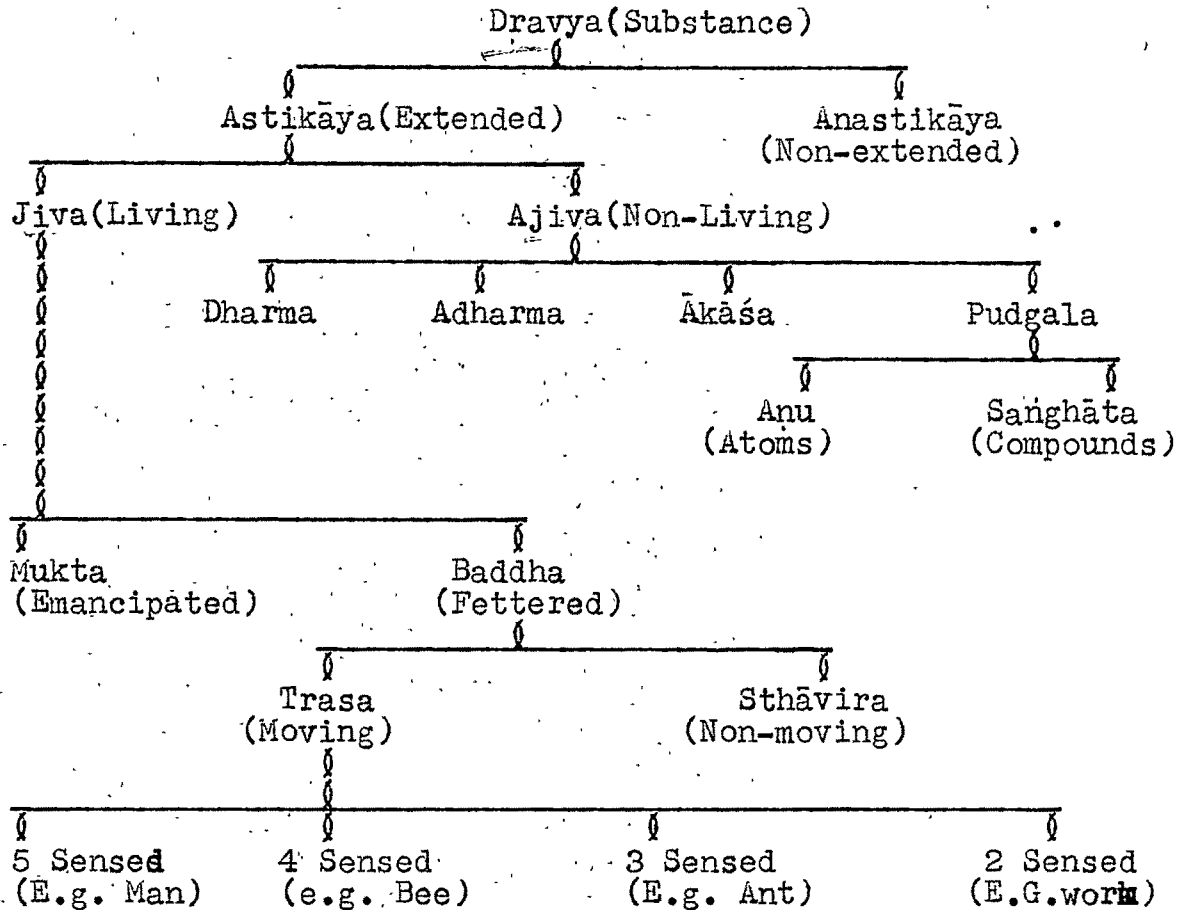
In order to show the bent of Indian mind towards rational grouping of things we shall describe here a few philosophical classifications as sample cases.

Jainism comes down from unknown antiquity. The first preacher of the system was Rsabhadeva and the last teacher was Mahāvīra who flourished in the 6th cy.B.C. Altogether there flourished twenty four teachers who attained liberation:

The Jain philosophers classified knowledge as follows:



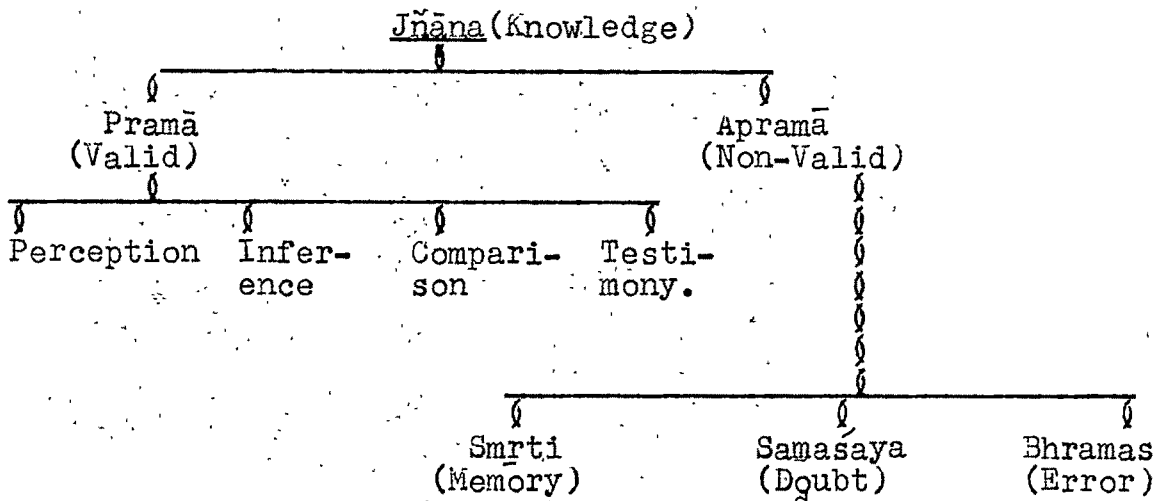
The Jaina philosophers also classified "Dravya" or substance as follows:-



Here the Dravya or substance is a genus. To the genus 'Dravya', the difference - existence of body is added and thus 'Dravya' is divided into Astikāya or exists like a body and Anastikāya or not exists like a body. In the second stage the difference - Life is added and the two species are born - ~~Two~~ Jiva (Living) and Ajiva (Non-living). Upto this the principle of extension and intention bears close resemblance with the Tree of Porphyry. Both the systems continued the divisions until individuals. The Jains completed the division with more scientific basis and developed the

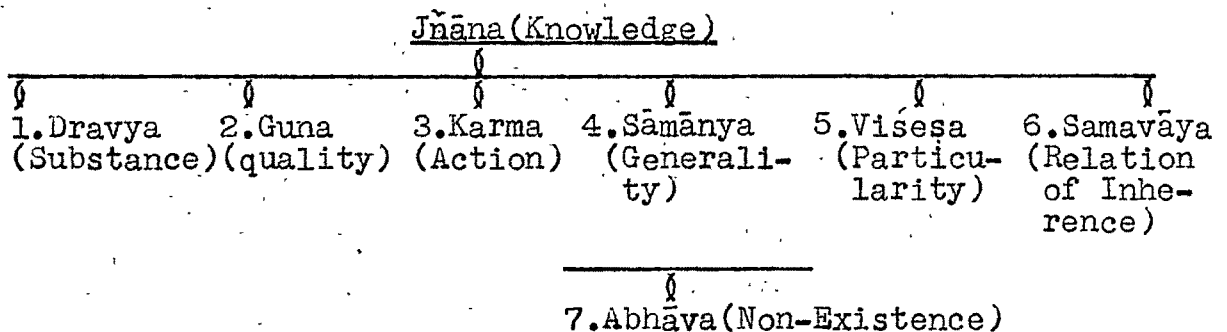
negative subjects. Whereas the Tree of Porphyry is inadequate and failed to develop the negative subjects.

The Hindu Nyāya philosophy was founded by sage Gautama (Aksapada). This philosophy expounds the conditions of correct thinking and true knowledge of reality. According to Nyaya Philosophy knowledge which is manifestation of objects is divided as follows:



Kanāda, the great sage who is also known as Uluka was the founder of the Vaiśeṣika system of philosophy. It is a realistic system like the Nyāya and based on logical arguments and both of them have the same ultimate purpose i.e., to liberate the individual self.

This system divides all objects of knowledge as follows:



dravya or substance is subdivided into nine branches:

(a) Earth, (b) Water, (c) Fire, (d) Air, (e) Ether,
(f) Time, (g) Space, (h) Soul and (i) mind.

Classification - Utilitarian:

We have discussed a few sample cases of ancient Indian philosophical classification systems. The aim of these systems is mainly to discover the relation of things.

But the purpose of utilitarian or bibliographical classification is to classify the whole field of existing literature into divisions and sub-divisions from the practical point of view.

Ancient Indian thinkers from the utilitarian point of view divided the whole field of knowledge into the following four classes:

1. Dharma, 2. Artha 3. Kāma 4. Moksha.

The revealed wisdom of the Hindus is known as śrutis and consists of the four Vedas. The Vedas divided knowledge into two main classes - Parā and

Aparā. Parā vidyā means the knowledge of Ultimate Reality where as Aparā-vidyā consists of the Vedas and six Vedāngas - Śikshā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Chhandas and Jyotiṣa.

The Chhāndogya Upaniṣhad (VII.2) furnishes us with a more detailed division of knowledge, They are as follows: Rg-veda; Yajur-veda; Sāma-veda; Atharva-veda; Itihāsa-Purana; Vedānām veda(grammar); Pitrya; Rāsi; Daiva; Nidhi; Vākovākya; Ekayana; Deva-vidyā; Brahma-vidyā; Bhuto-vidyā; Kshatra-vidyā; Nakshatra-vidyā; Sarpa and Devajanavidyā. The ~~xxx~~ Brihadāranyaka upaniṣhad (ii.4.10) gives us a somewhat similar list.

Kautilya, the author of Artha-śāstra(i.ii) divided the entire circle of knowledge into four divisions - 1) Ānvikshakī, (2) Trayī (3) Vārtā and (4) Dandanīti. Ānvikshakī comprises the philosophy of Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata. Trayī consists ^{of} ~~only~~ the triple vedas as well as Atharva-veda, Itihāsa veda and six vedāngas. Agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade constitute Vārtā and Dandanīti is the science of government.

The Sukra-Nīti(iv.iii) divided knowledge into the following 32 classes:-

Rg-veda; Sāma-veda; Yajur-veda; Atharva-veda; Āyus; Dhanus; Gandharva; Tantras; Śikshā;

Vyākaraṇa; Kalpa; Nirukta; Jyotiṣa; Chhandas; Mimansās;
 Tarka; Sāṃkhya; Vedānta; Yoga; Itihāsa; Purāṇa;
 Smṛiti; Nāstika; Artha-śāstra; Kāma-śāstra;
 Silpa-śāstra; Alankāra; Kāvya; Deśa-bhāṣā;
 Avasarokti; Yavana-Mata; and Deśadidharma. . .

Further we find account of sixty four ~~Kal~~ Kalās
 (Arts and Sciences) in the Rāmāyan (i, 95) Bhāgavata
 Purāṇa(x,45,36) Mahābhāṣhya (i,1,57) Daśakumār Charita
 (ii,21); Kāma-Śāstra, Lalita-Vistara etc.

Like the Hindus, the ~~Jains~~ Jains and Buddhist
 also divided their bulky religious and non-religious
 literature into several departments and sub-departments
 for practical purpose.

The Jains made the following divisions of their
 canonical literature:-

1. The 12 Angas
2. The 12 Upāṅgas
3. The 10 Painnaas (Prakiras)
4. The 6 cheya-sūttas or cheda-sūttas
5. 2 individual texts
6. The 4 Mula Sūttas

Classification of the Buddhist Literature:-

Before the connonical literature was compiled in its present form the Buddhists classified the then literature known as "Buddha vachanam" according to their form and contents into 9 or 12 Angas as given below:-

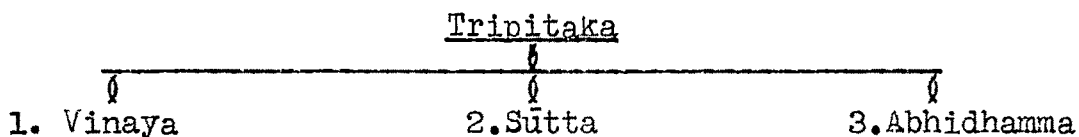
(a) According to Pali Literature:-

1. Sūṭṭa 2. Geyya 3. Veyyākaraṇa 4. Gāthā
5. Uḍāna 6. Itivuttakas 7. Jātakas 8. Abbhuta
Dhamma 9. Vedalla

(b) According to the Northern Buddhists:-

1. Sūṭṭa 2. Geyya 3. Veyyākaraṇa 4. Gāthā
5. Udāna 6. Nidāna 7. Avadāna 8. Itivuttakas
9. Jātakas 10. Vaipulya 11. Abbhuta Dhamma
12. Upādesha.

Later the Buddhists divided the canonical literature
as follows:-



1. Vinaya was subdivided into (a) Sūṭta vibhanga
(b) Khandhakas and (c) Parivāra
2. Sūṭta literature was sub-divided into the following five Nikayas:-

- (a) Digha (b) Majjhima (c) Saṃyutta (d) Aṅguttara
(e) Khudda Nikaya

3. Abhidhamma was subdivided into:-

- (a) Dhamma Saṃgani (b) Vibhaṅga (c) Dhakukathā (d) Puggala

Pannatti (g) Katha vatthu (f) Yamaka and (g) Patthana

It is now apparently clear that ancient Indian monastic and university libraries possibly used to classify the manuscripts according to their forms and contents and followed the classification schedules in some form or other, as stated above. The Buddhist monastic libraries of Nepal and Tibet still follow the same procedure to classify the huge number of manuscripts.

During the Mughal period the library of Akbar was classified into the following subjects:

(a) Astrology (b) Astronomy (c) Commentaries (d) Geometry (e) Law (f) Medicine (g) Music (h) ~~Philosophy~~ Philology (i) Philosophy (j) Poetry (k) Sufism (l) Theology (m) Tradition.

Besides the above subject divisions the Imperial library of Akbar was also divided and sub-divided according to language, literary form and value of books. "His Majesty's library is divided into several parts; some of the books are kept within, some without, the Harem. Each part of the library is sub-divided according to the value of the books and the estimation in which the Sciences are held of which the books treat Prose books, Poetical works, Hindi, Persian, Greek, Kashmirian, Arabic are all separately placed.".

The collection of Faizi which was transferred to the Imperial Library was divided into three different sections;

as noted below:-

- (1) Poetry, Music, Medicine, and Astrology
- (2) Philosophy, Philology, Sufism, Astronomy and Geometry.
- (3) Theology, Law, Commentaries .

The Waray family Library of Poona which contains about 3000 manuscripts furnishes us with further interesting information. It was stored up and preserved with efforts by six generations of the family. The collection was started by Purusottama, who was well-versed in Mantrasāstra and a priest of Rango Nārāyan Rājebāhādura. For nineteen months he was in Varanasi and himself copied many works as well as got copied some works by paying about Rs.1,900/-. Some of the manuscripts of the collection are dated and belong to the period 1659 A.D. to 1935 A.D.

The collection consists of approximately 250 to 300 Veṣṭanas or bundles of which 15 Veṣṭanas consisting of 304 manuscripts were checked. The classified sections of the 15 Veṣṭanas are as follows:-

1. Veda 2. Purāṇa 3. Upaniṣad 4. Tantra 5. Mantra-
sāstra 6. Yoga 7. Vedānta 8. Srauta 9. Smārta
10. Dharmaśāstra 11. Vaidyaka 12. Jyotisa 13. Sāhitya
14. Stotras 15. Vaidic Śuktas .

From the partial survey of the Waray collection it is evidently clear that even private libraries used to preserve manuscripts in a classified way and possibly they maintained a hand list for each Veṣṭanas or sections.

The Jain Jñān Bhāṇḍārs used fixed location system for classification. The manuscripts and the boxes which contained the manuscripts had been given their respective numbers. For numbering usually the figures 1,2,3,4,etc. were used. But in some cases the numbers were replaced by the name of twenty four Tīrthankaras, twenty Viharaman Tīrthankaras and the eleven crown pupils or Gandharvas of Mahāvīra etc.

In such cases instead of the numbers the first box was given the name of Rsabhadava, the 2nd of Ajitnāth and in the same way the 24th box had the name of Mahāvīra. If required further, then the 20 names of Viharaman Tīrthankaras were also used. The names of the Tīrthankaras, Viharaman Tīrthankaras and crown pupils of Mahāvīra were written on the boxes in place of ~~numerical~~¹¹ numerical figures.

The monastic libraries of Europe ~~in~~ in the 16th and 17th cy. followed a similar process of classification known as collegiate press-marking system where the book cases, shelves and books were marked with symbols or numbers to form a press mark.¹²

CATALOGUING

We have at present very little scope of knowing exactly the cataloguing systems of ancient Indian libraries. But from a few available catalogues which are two or three hundred years old we come to know that they mentioned in those catalogues only the box number, the manuscript number, the

title of the manuscript, no of pages and sometimes the author's name. Br̥haṭṭipānikā edited by Śrīman Jinviṇyaji is an example of such a catalogue. The Nirṇaya sāgar Press has published a number of publications like Vṛttaratnākara, Chhandasāstra etc. which contain unique editing in matter of cataloguing.

The personal library of Kavīndrāchārya (16th cy. A.D.) was catalogued in a classified way. The catalogue was obtained from a certain Math of Banaras by Mahāmahapādhyaya V.P. Devivedi and it (Kavīndrāchārya Sūchi patraṃ) was published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Mo. XVII).

The catalogue contains lists of 2192 manuscripts and is classified as follows:-

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Serial No. of Mss.</u>
1. R̥g.veda	1-4
2. Aśvalāyana Sūtra	5-24
3. R̥g.veda Sākhā or branches	25-31
4. Yajur veda, Sūtra etc.	32-64
5. Khil(Veda)	65-103
6. Vyākaraṇa	104-165
7. Nāya	166-222
8. Vedānta	223-333
9. Sūtra	339-441
10. Yoga.	442-354
11. Mīmāṃsa	355-371
12. a) Śrauta Baddhyāna	372-421
b) Śrauta Āpasthamba	422-434

c) Śrauta Hiranyakaśiya	435-458
d) Śrauta Kātyānaya	459-553
e) Śrauta Āswalāna	554-571
f) Śrauta Sāmsūtra	572-586
13. Smṛiti	587-656
14. Smārta Prakāraṇa	657-798
15. Jyotiṣha	799-905
16. Baidya	906-2099
17. Mantra	1100-1184
18. Dharma	1185-1230
19. Purāṇa	1231-1465
20. Purāṇagama	1466-1629
21. Samhitā	1630-1736
22. Tantra	1737-1820
23. Māhātma	1821-1870
24. Koṣha	1871-1898
25.a) Kāvya	1899-1944
b) Alamkāra	1945-1962
c) Nāṭaka	1963-1990
d) Saṃgita	1991-1999
e) Champu	2000-2010
f) Bhaṇ	2011-2016
g) Chanda	2017-2024
26. Nāstika	2025-2028
27.a) Nīti	2029-2044
b) Kathā	2035-2049
c) Kāṭtak	2050-2066

28. Parīkshā	2067-2080
29. Chatu Sasti kalā	2081-2144
30. Silpa	2145-2162
31. Sālihotra	2163-2173
32. Mata Grantha	2074-2192

PAGINATION:

It was the practice among the Jains to count the number of verses after completion of a particular work. 32 words were to make one verse. The total number of words in the manuscripts thus, gave the idea of the number of verses. At the end of ~~xx~~ one hundred, five hundred or one thousand verses, they used the term "Granthāṅgram". At the end of the manuscript there was a note of authority by the use of the term "Sarva-Granthāṅgram".¹³

The peculiar system of numbering the pages of the Jain manuscripts can also be noticed. The usual numerical figures are given on the left side while on the right x letters or syllables like "Sva", "Sti" etc. were used to denote numbers. Thus No.1 is indicated by "Sva", 2 by "Sti", 3 by "Sri",¹⁴ 100 by "Su", 200 by "Su" etc.

The Hindū manuscripts are generally numbered on the leaves (pattra) not on the pages (prsthā). In South India the figures stand on the first page of each leaf while in other parts on the second (Sāṅkraprsthā) and sometimes on both the corners left up and right down. In all the manuscripts (except some Jain manuscripts) ~~numeral~~ numerals from

15

one to 300 are used.

In the earlier Malabar manuscripts we see a novel method for numbering the pages. They used ~~xxx~~ letters in place of numbers. The first folio begins with 'Sri' only and then by letters as follows:-

Na =1, Nna=2, Nya=3, Skra=4, Jhra=5, Hā=6, Gra=7, Pra=8, Dre=9, Ma=10, Tha=20, La=30, Pta=40, Ba=50, Tra=60, Tru=70, Cha=80, Na=90, Nā =100. For 11, 12 etc. Ma and Na, Ma and Nna etc. for 21, 31 etc. Tha and Na, La and Na are used jointly. Similarly for two or three hundred etc. two or three letters indicating hundred were used.

After 15th cy. Malabar numerals from one to nine were
16
used on the right side.

Library Building:

In ancient and mediaval India there were various types of libraries. Famous universities like Taxilā, Nālandā, Vikramasīlā, Odantpuri maintained their respective libraries. There were also libraries attached to educational institutions like Ghatika, Samgan, Maktab, Madrasa and also to religious Institutions like monasteries, temples, Mathas, mosques etc. Besides these most of the kings and the nobles maintained their private collections.

Though we have very few ancient library buildings existing to-day still from literary and epigraphical evidences as well as from existing structural remains it is not

difficult to prove that there were separate arrangements for housing the manuscript collections.

The Bhāskara Samhitā is the only existing literary text which prescribes that a library should be housed in a finely built stone building.¹⁷

According to Tibetan sources Nālandā university had a splendid library known as Dharmagaṇja or the Piety Mart. It consisted of three huge buildings by the names of Ratnasāgar, Ratnadhadi and Ratnaranjak. Amongst them Ratnadhadi was a nine storied building which housed the famous manuscripts of Prajñapāramita Sūtra.

Innumerable monastic libraries flourished all over India during the Buddhist age. The Chinese travellers furnish us valuable information regarding them which ~~are~~ were inseparable parts of the religious institutions. Hiuen-Tsang while visiting Kosala saw nearly 100 monasteries of which the Pigeon monastery founded by Nāgārjuna was one. Regarding the monastery and the location of the library he says - "In the topmost hall Nāgārjuna deposited the scriptures of Sākyamuni Buddha and the writings of the Pūṣas"¹⁸. Here we see that the library was located at a place which is ideal from the view points of security and safety.

Regarding the interior arrangements of the monastic libraries we can gather very few direct information. The existing monastic libraries of Nepal, Tibet and other

Indian frontier states which are maintaining faithfully the traditions of the past were considerably influenced by the Indian monastic architecture. These existing libraries used to house the manuscripts on the wooden shelves. The wooden shelves with pigeon holes are arranged against the walls of the rooms. . .

The following description of the library of Gyantse monastery of Lhasa will corroborate the above statement:-

"In pigeon-holes on either side of the entrance to the chapel of the high altar were ranged the sacred books, the Buddhist scriptures (the Kahgyur), translated from the Indian Sanskrit about a thousand years ago, and their commentaries (the Tangyur), the former in one hundred volumes and the latter in two hundred and fifty. Each volume forms a cumbrous, unwieldy, heavy package about 2½ feet long and 8 inches broad, weighing 10 to 30 or more pounds, and containing several hundred loose leaves wrapped in cloth and strapped between heavy wooden boards with the label at one end." ¹⁹

We can safely presume that ancient Indian monastic libraries had similiar interior arrangements and they also used wooden shelves with pigeon-holes. Besides the wooden shelves there were wooden-boxes to preserve rare and valuable manuscripts.

In South India most of the important temples maintained well-equipped libraries with them. The inscription dis-

-covered at Nāgai corroborates the truth and furnishes us with some detailed information regarding administration and arrangement of temple libraries. It is interesting to note that among the ancient remains of the place there is a "big building with an outer courtyard with rooms on either side with a big doorway which leads into a spacious hall with a number of stone benches serving as pials and seven niches in the wall"²⁰. The spacious hall was used as the library room and the manuscripts were shelved within the niches.

During the pre-Mahommedan days Bijapur was known as Vidyāpura and it was a famous seat of learning. From epigraphical evidences it is clear that the Western Chalukyan kings of Kalyan for the purpose of a library erected a big building which is in a ruined state now.²¹

In Western India Pattan became a great centre of literary activity since the 11th cy.A.D. and she maintained the cultural standard and tradition nearly 500 years. The literary and cultural activities resulted in the formation of innumerable libraries. No special types of buildings were erected for housing the precious collections. The Bhāndārs²² were housed either in Upāśrayas or in ordinary houses.

The Tanjore Saraswati Mahal or library which dates from the 16th cy. when Tanjore was under the Telegu Naiks is one of the most precious libraries of India. The library is housed in a peculiarly appropriate hall. It is situated in a very important cite with the arseanal and watch towers on both the sides. The manuscripts and books were kept in

huge wooden boxes. At the northern end of the library huge shelves contain the books (mainly English) collected by Mahārāja Serfoji.²³

The early Muslim rulers had no separate library buildings but the libraries or Kitābhānās were housed in the palaces, educational institution, the mosques and the Khanqahs. The personal library of Gāzi Khān, a courtier of Ibrahim Lodi was housed in the Delhi fort.²⁴

The Moghul Emperors were great patrons of learning and founders of libraries. We do not get sufficient information regarding the library building of Bābur. Humāyun converted the octagonal double storied building known as Sher Mandal of the Purānā Qilāh of Delhi into a library. It was made of granite and red sandstone.²⁵ The library of Akbar was located within the Agra fort. In the Jahāngir Mahal adjoining the rooms known as Akbar's apartments there is a room which was used as the library. This ~~ix~~ was a big hall and decorated with wall paintings.²⁶ The building which was used as Akbar's Daftar Khānā or archieve is situated at Fathehpur Sikri. "It is a big hall 48 ft. long and 28½ ft. wide with an enclosed varandah and a frontal court. It is built on a platform to the south of Akbar's bedroom."²⁷

At Fathehpur Sikri the girls school is situated on the north west angle of Khas Mahal. It consists of a school room 22'-11" by 13'-6" and a class room 8'-2" by 14'-10" with a varandah on the north.

Herewith within the stone walls panelled bookshelves were made. "The walls are 1'9½" in thickness, but they are not solid. They are composed of series of piers, some 5'6" apart. The intervening spaces being filled on the outside with vertical slabs of stone ashlar, projecting inwards from which, at right angles, are other slabs notched out on the front to receive an open panelled and arched screen, whilst horizontal bond stones knit the whole together and serve the purpose of bookshelves." ²⁸

Ādilshāhi kingdom of Bijapur which was one of the five sultanates that grew up after the downfall of the Bahamani kingdom was a famous seat of learning. The Sultāna patronised innumerable private libraries and maintained a royal library. In the Asari Mahal at Bijapur a part of the Royal Ādil Shāhi library is still to be found.

Mahummad Gawan laid the foundation of the great college at Bidar. It was completed in 1472 A.D. The building was a three storied imposing piece of architecture which housed the mosque, the library, lecture halls, teacher's rooms etc.

"The front of the building which was luxuriously adorned with encaustic tiles of various hues and shades, all arranged in different designs, had one stately minarate at each side, rising to a height of 100 ft. These minarates also were decorated with tiles arranged in zigzag lines, a pattern which lent the building a most attractive appearance. The building rises to three storeys in a most

imposing position. Its entire length extends to 205 ft. with a width of 180 ft. which is divided up into apartments comprising the mosque, the library, the lecture halls, the professors' rooms and the students cubicles having a space of 100 ft. square in the middle as a courtyard. The building has excellent arrangement of light and air"²⁹.

As the library portion of the building has completely perished it is not possible to get a true picture of interior arrangement. But as the oriental architects used to construct wings of a building in a uniform plan it is possible that the library was designed after the interior arrangement of the other wings.³⁰

The Indian princes of Alwar, Bikanir, Mysore, Tanjore, Jaipur, Jammu etc. maintained their respective state libraries and archives. Separate buildings or rooms were allocated for them within the royal palaces.

In Assam the Ahom kings used to preserve the collection of manuscripts, records, letters, maps etc. in a set of apartments attached to the Palace."³¹

Administrative set up

From the then literary and epigraphical records as well as from the accounts of the foreign travellers we get interesting and valuable information regarding their administrative set-up, the staff, their pay and position, the furniture and other properties of the libraries as well as regarding the methods of preservation.

Generally the rulers and the nobles patronised these institutions and encouraged copying of manuscripts. It is evidently clear from the copper plate grant of Devapāladeva that the said king at the request of the ruler of Java made a gift of five villages for the ~~xxx~~ up-keep of a monastery³² built at Nālandā as well as for writing Buddhist texts. The university library of Vallabhi used to purchase books³³ out of the grant made by Guhasena I in 559 A.D. Two records of the Vijayanagar kings Bukka II and Devarāja discovered from South Kanara district ~~distinctly~~ distinctly mentioned that the library attached to the Śringeri Matha received royal patronage. The Vijayanagar kings made gift of villages and certain other incomes for the renovation³⁴ and maintenance of the said library.

Two of the Gurjara kings who became famous for their love of knowledge and extensive patronage for the establishment of libraries were Siddharāja Jayasimha and Śrī Kumār-pāldeva. The latter established twenty one libraries. The king Siddharāja appointed three hundred scribes to write about each branch of knowledge. The Prabhāṣak-Charita and Kumarpāla Prabandha abound with such references.

The practice continued to the end of the 19th c.A.D. among the native princes. The Nawābs of Rampur in Rohilkhand were very liberal in purchasing books for their libraries as well as for maintenance of the staff. Nawāb Sayyid Mahammad Sa'id Khān purchased books for the library worth Rs.1589-8 as; his successor Nawāb Yussuf Khān spent

Rs.2757-10-6 p. for books. After him Nawāb Kalb 'Āli' Khān spent Rs.43,608-13-9 p. for books. His successor Nawāb Hamid Āli Khān spent Rs.40,000/- for the library building and Rs.3,88,136-14 as and 10 pies further purchase of books and maintenance of the staff.

The above sample cases were presented as examples to prove that traditionally the rulers patronized the libraries and spent substantial amount as regards to the calligraphists, illustrators and the authors.

Besides the kings, the ministers and generals followed their masters examples to further the cause of library development. Reference may be made in this connection to a record of the Western Chalukya king Tribhuvanamalla Somesvara from Nāgai in the Hyderabad State. The record states that provision was made for six librarians (Saraswatī Bhāndāriks) of the library attached to a college endowed by a general of the king.³⁵ The names of the Jain ministers of Gurjara kings deserve special mention. Śrī Vāstupala Tajpāla Śrī Pethadashah and Śrī Madan mantri are still famous in the history of Gujrat for directly encouraging book-making and library establishment. Other ministers who also helped the same cause were Vimala Shāh, Amra Bhaṭṭa: Vijay Bhaṭṭa and Kumārshāh.

Sometimes the devout worshippers also made endowments for maintenance of monasteries and the libraries attached to them. From Epigraphical records we find that one such devout worshipper by the name of Gomen Avighnakara from

Gauda country made suitable grant for repair of some monasteries at Kanhery, West India; for the purchase of clothings for the community living there as well as some money³⁷ for books of the libraries attached to the monasteries.

Thus we see that both in ancient and mediaval India the rulers, grandees of the states, high officials and religious people extended their patronage and help towards the library development. During the Sultānate and Mughal period the same story was repeated and detailed accounts were described in previous chapters.

Library Staff - their status and pay

The Nāgai inscription dated 1058 A.D. furnished us with useful information regarding the status and pay of the libraries during the time of later Chalukyas. The Nāgai educational institution was a residential college. It was equipped with a library run by six librarians. Besides the librarians there were six teachers for teaching the Vedas, Bhatta Darśana, Nyāsa and Prabhakar. There were 252 residential students and the librarians probably in addition to their usual work used also to teach. The inscription further states:—"35 matter (of land) to the expounder of Bhatta Darśana, 30 matter (of land) to the expounder of the Nyāsa, 45 matter (of land) to the expounder³⁸ of the Prabhakar, 30 matter (of land) to (each) librarian." From the above allocation of land towards the maintenance

of the teachers and librarians of Nāgai residential college it is evidently clear that the librarians used to have equal status with the teaching staff and they were paid the same pay as were given to the teachers of Nyāsa.

During the early Sultānate period the kings used to maintain within their royal household a library or kitāb-khānā and the officer-in-charge was known as Kitābdār.

Sultān Jalāluddīn of the Khiljī dynasty was a great patron of learning. He selected Amir Khusrav, a scholar and poet of reputation as the librarian of the Imperial library. The post of the librarian was held in great respect and Amir Khusrav was raised to the rank of Peerage and was permitted to enjoy the privileges of a noble.³⁹

During the Mughal period the Nāzim was the highest officer of the library. Mullā Pir Muhammad and Shaikh Faizi in succession were the Nāzims of Akbar's Imperial Library. Muktab Khān was the Nāzim of Jahāngir and all of them were very important persons within the court.

With the growth and development of this institution there developed different categories of library staff. The different classes of staff and their respective nature of works of the Mughal and post-Mughal days are given below:-⁴⁰

- 1) The Nāzim was the chief officer of the library. Like the present day librarian of a big public or university library he was a man of scholarship and entrusted with the administrative supervision.

2) The Dārōgha or Muhtamim was the next man in-charge of internal administration and technical work. He was responsible for selection, classification and purchase.

3) The Sahhāf and warrāq used to work under the direction of Dārōgha and their duty was to issue books and replace the books in its proper place after use.⁴¹

4) Musahhāh was in-charge of correction and moderation of the manuscripts. When the manuscripts were damaged by book worms he used to restore the pieces in proper way. It was necessary for this class to be scholars cum-technicians and otherwise it would have been difficult for them to replace the damaged portion. In the library of Khān Khānān, Moulana Sufi was the Musahhāh.⁴²

5) Translators

6) Kātib or the ordinary scribe who used to copy rare manuscripts

7) Khus Navīs or Calligrapher,

8) Muqūbila Navīs who used to verify the works of Kātib and Khus Navīs after comparing them with the original texts.

9) Binders

10.) Book-illustrators

11) Jidwal Sāz who used to draw the various types of margins on the papers,

12) Clerks for maintaining stock as well as

13) Servants for dusting and cleaning.

In the Jaina Jñāna Bhāndārs the learned pupils and

Sramanas used to assist in writing manuscripts by selecting the various editions. Sometimes the learned Upāsakas also helped the work of writing manuscripts. The complete manuscripts were then sent to the learned and experienced Adharyas for their final remarks.

From the ~~catalogues~~ catalogue of the Rampur library it is clear that clerks were used to maintain subjectwise list of books. In 1848 Sprenger, an Englishman visited Lucknow and left a description of royal library of the Oudh kings. During the time of Asaf-ud-Dawla the library had ~~xx~~ a collection of about three lacs of books and there⁴³ were many servants for dusting and cleaning the collection.

It is clear from the above said accounts that big libraries of ancient and mediavel India maintained a fairly good number of staff for their administration and maintenance. For example we can cite one or two more examples here.

The royal Ādil Shāhi library of Bijapur had a total⁴⁴ staff of sixty employees, while the private library of Abdul Rahim Khān-i-khānān had 95 employees of varied⁴⁵ categories. The librarian of the Royal Ādil Shāhi library was a Hindu scholar Waman Pandit bin Anant who was well versed in Persian. His annual salary was one thousand⁴⁶ Hun or about Rs.3500/-.

We wonder when we think about the number of employees who managed the big ~~universities~~ university libraries of

Nālandā and Taxilā or the royal libraries of the Moghuls which had 24 thousand beautifully bound volumes during the time of Shāh Jehān.⁴⁷

The Saraswatī Mahal of Tanjore was one of the biggest libraries of the Orient. This library was mainly patronized by Mārātha rulers and specially by Serfoji. After his death in 1832 his son Shivāji became the ruler and continued his great interest and love for the library. In 1849 he spent Rs.21,549 towards the maintenance of the library out of his total annual expenditure of Rs.1,45,439.⁴⁸

Scribes

The scribes or the copyists maintained a distinct profession till the introduction of printing in this country.

The earliest name of these scribes as found in the Epics and Buddhist literature was Lekhaka.⁴⁹ The same name was used in the Arthasāstra.⁵⁰ But the term "Lipikara or Libikara" was used in the 14th rock edict of Asoka.⁵¹ The writer of the Siddapur edicts described him as "Lipikara" and in the Sanchi inscription (Stupa No.1, No.143) we find the use of "Rājālipikara".⁵² The term was known to Pānini⁵³ (5th cy. B.C.)

The Persian word "Debir" or writer was domesticated in Western India as "Divira". "Divirpati" or the writer of documents was used in a number of Vallabhi Inscription of the 7th and 8th cy. A.D.

When Huien-Tsang visited Kashmir the king appointed

twenty scribes to copy manuscripts for him. In Kashmir the scribes were known as "Divira" and we find reference in Rājataranginī and in other Kashmirian works of the 11th and 12th cy. Ksemendra in "Lokaprakasa" sub-divided the scribes or Diviras as Gaṇja divira (Bāzzār writer) Grāma divira (Village writer), Nagara divira (Town writer),
 54
 and Khavasa divira etc. . .

In north and eastern India ~~ix~~ since 8th cy. A.D. the writers were known as "Kāyastha". The term was first used in a yājñavalkya smṛiti (1.335). The other terms used for scribes are Karana, Karanika or Karanin; Śāsanika and Dharma-
 55
 lekhin.

The Kāyasthas used to enjoy a respectable position in the society. During the 11th cy. they gained a distinct prominence particularly in central India as evidenced from Chandella inscriptions. The following lines will illustrate their actual social status in the Chandella country in 11th cy. -

"There were thirty six towns, purified by the fact that men of the writer caste dwelt in them (Karana-karma-nivasa-puta) (and) more (than other towns) endowed with great comfort. Among them the most excellent, thought of as the abode of gods, was Takkarika, an object of envy . . . (And) in This (town) which by crowds (of students) was made to resound with the chants of the Vedas, there were born in Vastavya family those Kāyasthas whose fame was filled (and rendered) white like swans all the worlds, illuminating

57
the quarters,

From the above epigraphical record it is clear that the Kayasthas were regarded also as intellectuals.

The Jain king of Guzrat Śrī Siddharāja appointed three hundred scribes and ordered for 1,25,000 copies of Siddhahema-Vyākaraṇa to be presented to the students. The Prabhāvaka charita and Kumārpāla Prabandha abound with references of books presented to the needy.

The Turks -Afgan sultans and nobles, being great patrons of learning, encouraged writing, copying and translating manuscripts. They used to maintain large number of scribes and sometimes trained the slaves, like the Roman emperors, in copying.

Due to large ~~xxx~~ scale ~~xx~~ production and use of paper the Moghul government was known as Kāghazi-Rāj. During this age innumerable copyists, clerks and news-writers were employed in the libraries, secretariat as well as in the archives.

Like the Moghuls the Marāthās also maintained large number of clerks and copyists for their secretariats as well as for the libraries. For the imperial secretariat the Marathās employed two hundred Karkuns or clerks. The
58
Karkuns were paid from Rs.15 to Rs.12 per head every month.

Besides them there were scribes in each village attached to the office of Patils or village headman. These
59
scribes were known as Kulkarni or Gṛāma-lekhaka . The status of Kulkarni was next to Patila. They used to be

maintained from the income of the village taxes. Among many other things they used to receive regularly oil for ink and a piece of cloth for keeping papers to be received from the village.
60

The Ahom kings of Assam preserved libraries and archives within the ~~pal~~ palaces. The officer-in-charge of the royal Ahom library was known as Gandhin Barua who was a very high official and the next officer was known as Likhakar Barua, who was the superintendent of an army of scribes and clerks.
61

Till the time of the East Indian Company innumerable writers used to earn their breads by clerical work. From a survey of the English East India Company's Bengal, Madras and Bombay financial records - no ~~xxxxxxxx~~ less than thirteen hundred huge volumes it is evidently clear that large number of Indian clerks were employed by the Company.
62

Thus the work of the copyist was a distinct profession. But besides the professional copyists even ladies, monks and ordinary men being desirous of gaining religious merit took part in this.
63

The calligraphist was one of many types of scribes who devoted themselves for developing penmanship as an art. They used to copy not so much for reproducing as for writing it beautifully.

The art of calligraphy is essentially decorative. The diversity of scripts and the ingenuity displayed in their

ornamentation which are the essentials of this art owe much to the Islamic injunction forbidding the practice of figurative or pictorial arts, particularly as to the representation of living.

During the Moslem period calligraphy became a prized profession and expert calligraphists were highly admired by kings, nobles and ordinary people. ..

Taqut Musta'sami (1203 A.D.) was a reputed calligraphist and one of the greatest Naskh writers. In 1324 A.D. he sent a copy of the Shafa of Aveenna to Muhammad Tuglaq. The king, being highly pleased, presented the calligraphist with a sum of two hundred ~~x~~ million misquāls of gold but the calligraphist considered it a meagre sum and refused the gift.⁶⁴

Mir Khalilullah Shāh, the famous calligraphist presented a copy of Nau-Ras to Ibrahim Ādil Shāh of Deccan. He was so pleased that not only he conferred the title "The king of the pen" on ^{him} but ~~but~~ arranged a ceremony where he made the calligraphist sit on his throne for the time⁶⁵ being.

Like other Islamic countries calligraphic art developed in India from the beginning of Muslim rule but few early specimens, except inscriptions, have survived.

During the Mughal period a new vista opens for calligraphy when India came to ~~xxx~~ possess a host of eminent calligraphists whose accounts were discussed in previous chapter and whose works adorn the museums and libraries of India.

During the Moghul age expert calligraphists were

honoured according to their respective calibres and skill.

The following titles were conferred on them:-⁶⁶

Zarrin-raqam(golden writer), Shirin-raqam(sweet writer), Raushan-raqam(Bright writer) and Muskin raqam(Perfumed writer).

Shah Jehān used to confer the title Yak-Suti(centu-⁶⁷.. rian) to all whoever presented him with his writings.

Some forgers and students of the reputed calligraphists exploited the names of well-known artists and their teachers. From Ziauddin's book "Moslem Calligraphy" we come to know that Moulanā Khawāja Muhammad used to forge the name of his reputed teacher Mullah Mir 'Alī. The following writing of Mullah Mir 'Alī expressed his state of mind and his way of complain against his student:-

"Khāwja Muhammad was my disciple for sometime and I tried my best to instruct him, till his handwritting developed a feature. I have done him no wrong, nor does he do me any, save that he writes good or bad as best he can and signs the lot in ny name."⁶⁸

The calligraphists were very concious of their performances and sometimes they became martyrs for their pride and vanity. The following lines from the pen of Mullah Mir 'Alī who was highly admired by Jahāngir will prove that how dearly they loved and admired the art:-

"My pen works miracles, and rightly enough is the form of my words proud of its superiority over its meaning. To teach of the curves of my letters the heavenly vault confesses its bondage in slavery, and the value of each of my

69
strokes is eternity itself."

During the late Mughal period the art was greatly encouraged. Bāhādur Shāh was profoundly interested in this art and the Daccani Sultāns faithfully tried to maintain the tradition which continued till the time of the Nizams of Hyderabad.

The art is fast dying out yet expert calligraphists are available at Delhi, Lucknow, Rampur, Hyderabad etc. It is a fact that painting types are not yet popular with the Urdu writing public of India.

The history of the manuscripts and books as well as of the scribes and the calligraphers is an interesting chapter in the record of human endeavour. How great is our indebtedness to the generations of nameless scribes and calligraphers who copied and recopied through those centuries so that we might have the immortal works of ancient and mediaval Indian sages and saints, poets and philosophers, thinkers and scholars.

We sometimes wonder whether all these writings were done purely from the point of view of preservation and dissimination of knowledge. But a historical analysis shows that besides pure academic interests there were other factors which encouraged writing, copying and decorating manuscripts throughout the countries.

In ancient and mediaval India academic interest was mainly responsible for manuscript and book production and the history has been dealt with in preceding chapters. But

there were other active socio-religious factors and it seems useful to note down, summarily a few facts which will substantiate the above statement.

1) Religious factor: From the literary evidences it is clear that presentation and multiplication of religious manuscripts and books were considered as acts of great religious merit. It is said that those who distribute manuscripts of Gitā, Purānas or Vedas get their wishes fulfilled ~~and~~ and never born again.⁷⁰ The Purāna dānā and Vidyā dānā sections of Dānasāgar abound with such references.

2) Political factor: Gift of manuscripts and library intercourse were commonly used as tokens of friendship between political parties and states. The king of Kāmrup Bhāskaravarman presented Harṣhavaradhana, king of Kanauj with precious volumes of fine writings and Jahāngir presented books liberally to the nobles of Guzrat in order to make the political friendship stronger as well as to earn their sympathy and love.

3) Economic factor: The copyists and calligraphers maintained a distinct profession and a large number of people used to earn their living through their pen. During the Mughal period "there is no street or market (in the Imperial capital) in which the book-sellers do not stand at road sides selling copies of the Diwans of these two poets (Urfi or Sheraj and Hussain Sanai) and both persians and Indians buy them."⁷¹

The professional scribes used to be paid decently in ancient time. In Western India during the mediaval days the cost of ~~xx~~ copying was comparatively higher. The work of the scribes was very hard and pains taking as they had to copy the manuscripts, "with the back, waist and neck bent and with the head leaning downward (Bhagna Prstha- Katī. griva-adhomukha)".

Printing was not readily accepted in India as it would do considerable harm to the profession and would make a good number of copyists unemployed. Ovington, who visited India in about 1689 corroborated the above statement as follows:-

"Neither have they (Indians) endeavoured to transcribe the act of printing, that would diminish the repute and livelihood of scribes who maintain numerous families by their pen".

During the early part of 19th cy. the scribes were paid nominally. The following cases will state the usual rate of remuneration used to be paid to the then scribes:-

1. Bengali version of the Rāmāyan by Kṛttivāsa dated 1817 A.D. was copied ~~xxx~~ for Rs.5/- only
2. Bengali version of the Mahābhārata (Virāt Parvan) was copied for Re.1/- only in 1110 B.S. i.e. 1703 A.D.
3. Bengali version of the Mahābhārata (Śānti Parvan) was copied for only -/13/- annas in 1253 B.S. i.e. 1846 A.D.

Further Ward informs us that a sum of Re.1/- or 12 annas was paid for copying every 32,000 letters in the

beginning of the 19th cy. In his opinion even the rate was very high as the charges for copying big works like the Mahābhārata would be exorbitant. R.L.Mitra puts it at Rupees four for 1,000/- slokas in the sixties of the last century. ⁷⁷

Preservation:

In India from the ancient times manuscripts were held in high esteem and they were worshipped on the Saraswatī Pujā or Vasanta Panchami day. The Jains attached too much sanctity towards them and introduced Ujamānā and Jñānpujā festivals with a view to educate the people in the knowledge of sacred books. ⁷⁸ It is evidently clear from the literary evidences that the people in those days passionately loved and respected them and possession of manuscripts was considered a proud privilege and distinction. It is why they took every possible care for their well being and preservation.

Tenali Rāmkrishna, the famous mediaval Telegu poet mentioned that Fire, Rotting (due to insects or weather), Mislaying and Thieves are the four major sources of dangers to a library. ⁷⁹ The ancient people were fully conscious of the above factors and it is why they at the end of the manuscripts added verses curshing those who will steal them, praying for the long life of the manuscripts as well as requesting others to preserve them with care. ⁸⁰ The common Indian saying - "Lekhani Pustikā Kāntā Parahastāgatā Gatā, i.e. pen, book and wife if transferred to some one else is

lost" is very significant. Sometimes fanatics used to attach too much sanctity and reverence to these manuscripts and at their old age used to throw them into sacred rivers with the apprehension that after their death they will be di-
⁸¹
 filed.

Regarding preservation and housing of the ancient Indian libraries we have very little information. But from the age-old monastic libraries of Nepal and Tibet we can safely presume that wooden shelves and ~~book~~ boxes were used for their housing. A description of the superintendent of Accounts' Office as given in the Kautilya's Arthaśāstra corroborates that wooden shelves were used to house manuscripts in an-
⁸²
 cient India as early as 4th cy. B.C.

But from the mediaval days we get sufficient dates on these points and the Jaina Chitra Kalpadruma furnishes us with valuable information.

The manuscripts of most of the mediaval libraries were kept either in wooden boxes or wooden shelves. Besides these in latter period the manuscripts were kept also with-
⁸³
 in wall niches or closed wall almirahs.

For having the precious collections the Jaina Jñāna Bhāndārs used boxes made of either wood, cardboard, leather or ivory. The wooden boxes were made polished on the exterior surface in order to protect them from worms and moisture. The manuscripts which were kept in boxes (Dabhadas) were devoid of covers as the box itself was envelopped by

a cloth.

In the Saraswati Mahal library of Tanjore "the huge wooden almirahs in which the books and manuscripts are kept, have been in existence for some centuries. At the northern end of the library, huge wooden shelves of ancient make contain the printed English books collected by Mahārāja Ser-
84
foji.

Manuscript Boxes

Card board boxes: Nice card-board boxes were made by a mixture of waste-paper and Methi. A silk or a cotton cloth was utilised for enveloping them. But such cover cloth was not used always and in place of them the boxes were painted with mixed colours. The Patan Bhāndārs contain many tube shaped card-board boxes to preserve small sized palm leaf manuscripts.

Leather boxes: A leather ~~km~~ piece was also utilized as the cloth piece to envelope boxes. Thus the boxes enveloped with leather piece are known as leather boxes. Sometimes the leather ~~chips~~ chips were utilised as covers. To-day some people may object such leather covers on the grounds of purity and sanctity but Jain Jñāna Bhāndārs of mediavel India had many such specimens.

Wooden and Ivory boxes: Generally the wooden boxes were made of Saga wood. But manuscripts like Kalpasūtra written in golden or silver letters were usually kept in boxes made of Cedar wood or ivory with beautiful and

and delicate carvings on the outer surface.

Big boxes or Trunks: For further safety the smaller boxes were kept into big wooden trunks (Patārā) made stronger by iron or brass-chips. At some places the strong cup-boards or wall planks (Bhāṇḍakiyā) were made for the purpose. At Patan both Patārā or Petārā and Bhandakiya were in use but for constant use the latter was more convenient. The Petārās were also known as "Majoos". The Bhandakiyās carved out of the walls & protected the manuscripts from moisture.

Thus we see that in mediaval India wooden boxes, wooden shelves and wall niches were mainly used for keeping manuscripts. The mediaval libraries of Europe followed similar practises and there "books except those of habitual and constant use, were inclosed in chests, cup-boards or presses, or perhaps in an angle of a Carver".⁸⁵

Book-stand: To keep the manuscripts free from dust and damp when reading is done a book-stand known as Sāmpadā or Sāmpadī was used. This type of book-stand was used even in the days of the Jātakas where it was known as "Adharake" (III,235). The use of this stand was widely introduced by the Mughals who call it by names of Riāla, Reel, Sāmpadā, Sāmpadī, Chāpadā etc.

Folded stand was known as Chapada where as the unfolded thing was known as Sāmpadā.

We find the stands were termed as Samputaka or Samputikā and Sāmpadā or Sāmpadī in the manuscripts Ārāḍhanā and Atichāra dated Vikrama year 1313 and 1369 respectively and

also in Rājsekhar's Kāvya-Mimāṃsā.

The rich people used to make these stands made of Sandal wood and to beautify them with designs and colours.

Surface cover: Kahāli or the surface cover was made of bamboo-chips covered with silk or cotton cloth. It was made after the style of the chinese bamboo calendars and used for the purpose of keeping the loose pages intact when reading is stopped temporarily. The name is derived from the Sanskrit word Kambikāvali or Kambāli.

Pointer: Kāmbī or pointer is derived from Sanskrit word "Kambikā". It is as flat as the chip of a bamboo. To protect the ~~ink~~ ink, colour and paper from the touch of the fingers and their perspiration the pointer generally made of ivory, sandal wood or Sisam or Saga wood was used.

Manuscript covers: They are generally made of Saga or Sisama wood and are used to protect the leaves from undue bent, friction or breakage and also from atmospheric effect. Sometimes the covers had a polish and beautifully designed with colours or decorated with paintings. Sometimes a designed leather piece covered the manuscripts, and in some cases a piece of Khaddar cloth or piece of cotton served the purpose. The covers are known as Pātā or Pānthā.

Knot: A knot is tied up to all the manuscripts so that they may be protected from dry or moist atmosphere, kept away from the dust and saved from fluttering due to

strong breeze. Usually these knots were made up of cotton threads. But for valuable manuscripts the silk thread was used. Sometimes double Khādi ~~threads~~ and ~~really~~ rarely velvet threads were also used.

The following appeals which were made by the author to the readers and public will speak for the amount of care taken for their safety. Such appeals or requests were generally part of the colophone.

(1) Manuscripts should be looked after like one's own children but they should be kept tightly bound up like enemies.

(2) They should be preserved with great care considering⁸⁶ the hard work involved in copying.

There are several other verses which contain appeals for their proper preservation. In some of them the persons who damage, destroy or steal manuscripts are attacked and cursed⁸⁷ in a very rude and vulgar language.

The Jain philosophers believe that the books alone can⁸⁸ help mankind to realize the truth. They used to take special care of the manuscripts even during the time of reading them. To protect them from dirt and spit a Jain reader should cover his mouth and palm with piece of cloth.

Atmospheric effect on manuscripts and books:

The keepers of the Jaina Jñāna Bhāṇḍārs took special care against the tropical heat and dampness. Being aware of the facts that the direct heat of the sun is harmful to them, they very rarely exposed them under the direct sun. But

under special circumstances, when the pages are stuck with one another they should be aired and sunned but never exposed directly to the sun.

The ink used for writing ~~man~~ contain gum as one of its ingredients. On account of the damp the gum becomes wet and pages stick with each other. To protect them from such effect the pages were kept tied very tightly in compliance with the saying "The book should be caged by iron bars like the enemy".

To keep the manuscripts safe from atmospheric effect Jaina Jñāna Bhandārs were not accessible during extreme heat or damp weathers. As a measure against sticking of the pages they used to spread "Gulal" on the pages.

Sometimes the pages were stuck in such a way as to give an idea of a cake. Such paper manuscripts were generally placed upon water stand in dry place; or within a damp pot without water. When the pages are completely affected by cold, they should be separated with patience.

The other process followed by them was to keep them during the monsoon in the house so that the damp will be absorbed and they will become wet. With great patience the pages were separated and afterwards Gulal will be spread.

When the pages of a palm leaf manuscripts are stuck, a wet piece of cloth was generally wrapped round about it. As a result of keeping them for some time in this way the leaves become wet and they were made separated. The palm leaf manuscripts were written generally with fast ink so

there was less fear of being ~~xxx~~ spoiled or spread. During the operation they used to take special care to save the upper layer of the leaves.

But such method once used makes the life of the palm leaves short and from their experience they found that such wet manuscripts hardly remained for 50 years. ⁸⁹ ..

In the tropical countries innumerable book worms grow and cause damage to them. As a measure of protection against such worms bundles of Ugra gandha (Ghodā Vaca) or Acoras Calamus or Camphor were kept within the boxes or on the ⁹⁰ shelves.

The cup-boards and boxes used to protect the manuscripts from the attack of mice and rats. Besides these, cleaning and dusting were routine work of the libraries. Thus in ancient and mediavel India manuscripts and books were held in high esteem and every precaution was taken for ~~xxx~~ proper preservation of these fragile objects.

The imprecatory verses of the manuscripts throw considerable light on the value and importance of these objects and we conclude the chapter by quoting below the verse where a passionate appeal was made for their careful preservation :-

:-

"Bhagnaprista Katigri~~va~~ Stabdhadristi Adhomukha
Kāsten Likhitaṁ Grantham Jatnen Pratipālaya" ⁹¹

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Chapter 10

History of Printing

in

India.

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The introduction of printing from movable types in the sixteenth century is a landmark in the history of Indian libraries. Prior to this, knowledge was confined to a limited circle and the written records were the precious possessions of the few. But the inauguration and gradual development of printing on Indian soil furthered considerably the rate of book production and thus heralded the dawn of the modern age.

It is a common belief that printed books were first produced in China and the earliest printed book from wooden blocks is Diamond Sūtra dated 868 A.D. But recent investigations and discoveries have suggested that since ancient times the art of reduplication and block printing was also known to India and Indians jointly worked with the Chinese for publication of important Buddhist works from wood blocks.

The discovery of innumerable seals from Mohenzodaro, Harappa, Lothal and other places confirm the fact that since the pre-historic days Indians had the conception of reduplication on the basis of printing technique.¹ The word "Mudrā" meaning a seal appears in Kautilya's Arthasāstra.² We find references to having imprints of God's missiles on human body in Yajur Veda and Atharva Veda, Garuda Purāṇa, Padma Purāṇa,³ Gotamiya tantra and in other early religious literature. Further the word "Mudrā" was used in the Sanskrit drama Mudrā-Rākhshasa to denote printing from blocks.⁴

The Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing visited India in the 7th

cy. A.D. and from his writings we know the following:-

"The priests and laymen in India impress the Buddha images⁵ on silk or paper and worship them wherever they go."

Moreover Indian scholars worked jointly with the Chinese for publication of one of the monumental works, the Chinese edition of Tripitaka in 5048 volumes which was translated from Sanskrit during 973-83 A.D. 1,30,000 wood blocks were cut for this publication and they were "stored in another newly constructed unit put up hard by the court of Translation,⁶ where Indian monks and their colleagues were at work."

The discovery of a fragment of stone inscription from the Kamal Maula mosque of Dhar throws interesting light on the practice of stone block printing as was prevalent in India⁷ in the eleventh century. Similar practice of printing roll books or single sheets from specially prepared blocks of stone⁸ was in vogue in ancient China.

The fragment of the stone inscription is preserved in the local museum and measures 23 cm. at its broadest by 16 cm. at its highest. It is an unique piece which bears an inscription written in Devanagari script of the 11th cy. and engraved in its negative. This piece, a part of a large size stone inscription was originally used as a printing block for producing any number of copies of the text engraved in the negative. But such a stray endeavour does not prognosticate a system or a regular cultivation of the art.

All the evidences as well as the innumerable wood cuts

and block prints discovered from the ruins of Central Asia,⁹ a region strongly influenced by cultural traditions of India go to form the mozaic which India contributed to the growth and development of early printing.

It can now be accepted, on the basis of evidences as stated above, that the art of reduplication and block-printing was known and practised in ancient India. During the medi-
eval days the Moghuls and the Marāthās came in close contact with the Europeans. European Jesuits brought printed books and presented them to the then rulers. In spite of their close contacts with the Europeans and their knowledge of printed books as well as printing press Indians did not favour the idea of introducing the art.

An intimate study of the cultural history of ancient and medieval India enables us to have a closer understanding of the socio-economic and religious factors at work against introduction of the art of printing. Generally, it can be stated that due to profound reverence for religious literatures, passionate care and love for penmanship and calligraphy as well as for maintaining the social structure by not diminishing the repete and livelihood of scribes and calligraphers, as discussed in the previous chapter, the art of printing did not take root and flourish in India earlier than the sixteenth century.

Introduction of Printing Presses in India:

Now an attempt will be made to trace the growth and development of printing on Indian soil which mainly flourished on the coast line of the country. On the west coast Goa, ~~Qilun~~ Qilun, Ambalakkadu, Tranquebar as well as Bombay and Poona while on the east coast Vapery, Fort St. George, Madras as well as Fort William, Calcutta and Sreerampore share the honour of producing the cradle books of India.

Goa:

The first printing press arrived at Goa from Portugal on September 6th 1556¹⁰. From a letter published in the tenth volume of Jesuit letters edited by Father Beccari and which is written by Father Gasper Calaze to St. Ignatus on 30th April, 1556, it is evidently clear that a printing press was sent to Abyssinia from Portugal on the repeated requests of the Abyssinian emperors under the care of Father John Nunes, the Patriarch designate of Ethiopia. In the same party there was Brother Juan De Bustamante who knew the art of printing and an Indian who did help Bustamante in setting¹¹ up the press.

The ship carrying the party and the press reached Goa on way to Abyssinia. The Governor of Goa requested Fr. John Nunes to stay when he was actually intending to move from Goa to Abyssinia. The patriarch complied with the request¹² of the Governor and stayed there.

The press actually started functioning since October 1556 when John printed loose sheets of theses (Conclusoes) on Logic and Philosophy which were the summaries of public discussions made by a large gathering of priests and people.

In ~~12~~ 1557 the first known book St. Xavier's "Doutrina Christa" was printed at Goa in Portuguese language. Unfortunately no copies of the said title is available at present.¹⁴ But the first known copy of the Tamil translation of "Doutrina Christa" printed in Lisbon in 1554 has been recently discovered in the Museu Etnologias da Belem, Lisbon.

John Quinquencio and John of Endem, the printers who possibly came to Goa with the Archbishop from Portugal, printed "Compendio Sp̄ritual de vide Christao" by Gaspar de Leao dated 2nd July, 1561. "It is a small fat derodecimo, and a copy is preserved in the New York Public Library".¹⁵

John of Endem printed Garcia da Orta's Coloquios dos simples edrogas or conversations on the simples and Drugs of India" and dated 10th April, 1563. It is difficult to ascertain the number of volumes printed by John of Endem. But according to Rev. Primrose six survive and of the six five¹⁶ were in quarto and one in folio.

In 1578 a Tamil translation of Doutrina Christā by Henrique Henriques was published. As it was printed in Malabar Tamil character Fr. Souza writes := "This is the first printed book which India saw born in its own land"¹⁷. But St. Xavier's Doutrina Christā was published in 1557. Here by the term -"first printed book" Fr. Souza wants to mean

that the Tamil translation was the first book printed in Indian language.

In between 1577 and 1578 Indic types were prepared by Joan Gonsalves, a Spaniard who came with Bestomante to Goa and by Rev. Joao da Faria. "He (Joao Gonsalves) was the first who made in India types of Malabar letters with which the first books were printed."¹⁸ Rev. Faria casted the alphabets of Tamil language. From a contemporary record it is evidently clear that a Bramhin convert - Pero Luis by name was sent to Goa to help Gonsalves in understanding and arranging the¹⁹ Indian alphabets.

Now the question comes - what the Malabar letters actually signify? There was much controversy over this problem which was ended by the discovery of a copy of Doutrina Christã printed in 1578. Schurhammer in his article - "The first printing in Indic characters" published in the Harvard Library Bulletin, Vol-VI, No.2 reproduced a few pages of the book which was published at quilon in Lingua Malabar Tamil. An examination of the pages prove that the types prepared by Gonsalves (Malabar) and the types prepared by Faria(Tamil) are identical.

Quilon:

The translation of "Doutrina Christã" was printed with both the above said types. The types of the first eight lines were prepared by Gonsalves at Goa in 1577 while the other type used for printing the rest of the book were

prepared by Faria in Quilon in 1578.²⁰ This volume contains only 16 pages and is now a possession of the Harvard College library.

Ambalakkadu:

Ambalakkadu in Cochin was also a centre of early Indian printing. But no books can be found printed in this place. Another altogether separate volume on Doutrina Christã was printed at Cochin in 1579.²¹ "This is not a second edition of Doutrina Christa printed in 1578 but an independent work, which is a translation extending over 120 pages of a Portuguese work by Marcos George published in 1566".²² This is preserved in the library of Sorbonne and the photo of the ~~little~~ title page of the said volume was published in Sivaraman's article on the evolution of early title page. The title is translated as Christya Vannakanam.²³ Flos Sanetorum, another Tamil book by H. Henriques was printed in 1586 is available at the Vatican library.

Printing actively continued unabated in Goa till ~~1674~~ 1674 but gradually it declined due to demoralisation of the missionaries and their apathy to learn Indian languages.²⁴ The decree of 1684 replaced Portuguese abandoning local languages in Goa and thus discouraged the growth and development of Indian printing.²⁵

Like the Catholic missionaries the Danish Protestant mission's work to introduce printing in India is very important. Among the Danish Protestant missionaries who in order to propagate their ~~faith~~ faith learned the language of the

natives, made acquaintances with their social customs and religious faiths and tried to introduce printing. The name of Bartholemew Ziegenbalg stands foremost in the rank. He reached India somewhere in 1706 and was utterly shocked to notice the corrupted condition of the Catholics. In 1706 he writes in one of the letters dated 1st October as follows:- ..

"Their conversion is also very much obstructed by the conduct of the Roman Catholics, who made to decoy into Christianity (so called), by all manner of sinister practices and under-hand dealings.²⁶ With fervant religious zeal the Danish missionaries tried to change the situation to further the cause of the propagation of Christian faith. They also visualised that their purpose will be served better if they can print Christian literature in the native language and distribute them widely among the people.

With this aim in view Zeiganbalg demanded on Aug. 22nd, 1708 for a "Malabar and Portuguese Press" and in 1709 appealed to all Protestant European countries to help them in their work. Ziegenbalg and his collaborator F.E.Grundlar appealed again and again for the printing press, a founder and also for paper.²⁷

The appeals became fruitful in 1711 through the efforts of Rev. A.W.Boehme, the German chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, when the "Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge" of England sent to the Danish missionaries of India a printing press, 100 reams of paper and 213 copies of New Testament in Portuguese along with the Printer-Jones Finck.²⁸

Tranquebar:

All these things except the printer arrived next year. Fink, on his way to India died of fever near Cape of Good Hope. The Press started functioning at Tranquebar(Madras) on June 11th,1713 with the assistance of a German printer who was²⁹ already working with a Danish company. They started vigorously to make Malabar types and they were able to soon to establish the foundry. From an extract of a letter dated December 11th,1713 we come to know that within these six months the press and the Foundry made good progress. They printed a copy of "The Abomination of Paganism and the way for the Pagans to be saved" and with the types made for the first time³⁰ as experimental measure" .

In 1714 the New Testament and then - The Four Evangelists and Acts of the Apostles were printed in Tamil. A copy of the former is preserved in the Sreerampur College Library.

In order to make the press, which was working in full swing, known all over India they devised to print "A sheet Almanack which will not be vended on the coast of Coromondal³¹ but also on that of Malabar and in Bengal" . Soon after an attempt was made in building a paper mill "for the benefit of³² the Mission".

Another Danish missionary Christian Frederick Schwartz who acted as a teacher of the enlightened Tanjore ruler Sarfoji Bhonsle (1799-1833) impressed the ruler to establish a press in order to publish Sanskrit and Marāthi books. We do not know the detail history of the press but we know that

the following Marāthi and Sanskrit books were printed in the same press during the first part of the 19th cy. A.D. :-

1. Yuddha Kānda by Yekanātha (1809)

2. Śisupāla Vadha by Māgha (1812)

3. Karikāvali and

4. Mukṭāvali. These volumes are preserved in the ³³ Sarasvatī Mahal Library of Tanjore, while another book printed in the same press - "Bālbodhe Mukṭāvali" is preserved in the British Museum Library. The Devnāgarī types used in the press were ³⁴ cast by Charles Wilkins.

Madras:

The first printing press of Madras was started at Vapery and later this press became famous as the Diocesan Press. The Tamil types were first cast in Madras and used at Vapery till 1870. The press at Vapery started under the following circumstances:-

"In 1761 Sir Eyre Coote captured Pondichary from French and in the Governor's house was found a printing press and some types. These were brought back to Madras as part of the loot, but the Fort St. George Authorities were unable to make use of them as they had no printer. Fabricus, the great Tamil scholar, was then living at Vapery, and the equipment was handed over to him on condition that if at any future time the company should require any printing done, he would do it for them It was at Vapery that Fabricius printed his hymn book and also his Tamil-English Dictionary" ³⁵ and English-Tamil Dictionary in 1799 and 1786 respectively.

Fort St. George: The College of Fort St. George, Madras was established in 1812 and the press attached to the college took the responsibility of publishing books in Telegu and Kanada languages. The college was modelled after the Fort William college of Calcutta and one of its aim was " to produce the same favourable results as regards to the languages of South India."

The following volumes were published from the press attached to the College of Fort St. George:-

1. A Grammar of the Teloogo Language 36
by A.D. Campbell (1816) 37
2. -do- 2nd ed. (1820)
3. A Grammar of the Carnatic Language
by J.M.M'Kerrel. (1820)
4. An English Kannad~~ya~~a Dictionary 38
by Rev. William Reeve (1824)

Grierson informed us that the book - "A Grammer of the Gentoo language as it is understood and spoken by the Gentoo people residing north and north-westwards of Madras" ³⁹ was published in 1807 in Madras. We do not know the press where it was printed.

The Kannada printing developed with the help of the Christian Missionaries of Bellery, Bangalore and Mangalor and a blacksmith of Mangalore Anantacharya improved the types ⁴⁰ to the present state of perfection. "A Grammar of the Kurnata Language " by W.Carey was published in 1817 by the Sreerampur Mission Press.

Bombay: The first attempt to introduce printing in Bombay was started in 1674-75. Bhimji Parekh, a merchant of Guzrat was the pioneer of the move. He took the initiative purely from the commercial view point with the idea of printing Hindu religious books as there was a ready market for them..Accordingly he imported a press⁴¹ and requested the East India Company in 1670" to send out an able printer to Bombay" for which "he is willing to allow him £50 sterling a year for three years"⁴². East India Company considered the request of Bhimji⁴³ favourably with the consideration that it will also be helpful to print christian literature which will help to propagate the religion of Christ.⁴³ From a letter written by the Company to Surat dated 3rd April, 1674 it is evidently clear that a printer by the name of Mr. Henry Hills was sent to Bombay along with a press, types and other necessary materials like paper etc.⁴⁴ Mr. Hills was a good printer and as he was not an expert cutter of types, a further request for a founder was made by Mr. Parekh. We do not know exactly whether the founder actually reached Bombay or not.

But printing was gradually encouraged by the efforts of General Aungier, Governor of Bombay⁴⁵ and some of the state papers started getting printed as seen by Captain Alexander Hamilton who visited India in 1688-1723 A.D.⁴⁶

We do not know whether the Marāthas encouraged printing or not? If the answer was in the affirmative then printed records of the period would have been available. The complete absence of documentary evidences tells us the other story.

But Nānā Fadnavies "Conceived the idea of printing the Bhāgavad-Gītā by getting moulds of Marāthi letters prepared by a coppersmith student. He therefore started the attempt to get moulds of letters prepared by skilled technicians at ⁴⁷ Poona."

The researches of Mr. Priolkar throw considerable light on the attempts made by the Marāthā statesman to make uniform copper-plates with letters fixed on them for printing. But he failed to push forward the idea. Due to changed fortune of the Peswās the skilled artists in search of fortune took service under Gangādhār Rao Govind, the chief of Mirāj and they became ~~sucess~~ successful in publishing a block print copy of Bhāgavad-Gītā in 1805. Nearly 175 copper plates with copper letters fixed on them and a copy of Bhāgavad Gītā are in the possession of Bhārat Itihāsa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona and Pandit Raghu-⁴⁸ nāth Sāstri Patankar of Ratnagiri respectively.

In Bombay printing actually started in the last phase of the 18th cy. and the types used in the press were imported from overseas.

Mr. George Buist, editor of the Bombay Times informed us in one of his article published in "The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce" dated 4th December, 1855 that the book - Calendar for the year of our land 1780, printed by Rustom Caresajee in the Buzar" is the first book printed in Bombay. The book contains thirty four pages but is not available at present.

Next the following three periodicals were published in

Bombay:-

- | | |
|----------------------------|----|
| | 49 |
| 1. Bombay Herald in 1789 | |
| | 50 |
| 2. Bombay Curierka in 1790 | |
| | 51 |
| 3. Bombay Gazette in 1891 | |

All that time the Curier press occupied the premier posi-
tion and it was actually having a trade all over Bombay. 52

The Book "Remarks and Occurences of Mr. Henry Becher, during his imprisonment of two years and a half in the Dominion of Tippu Sultān, from whence he made his escape" was published in Bombay in 1793. "It ~~is~~ is the first book ever printed in Bombay" as is given on the introduction of the said title and the volume is preserved in the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay.

Now it stands that the two volumes 1. Calendar for the year of our Lord 1730 and the title as mentioned in the above paragraph vie each other for the credit of being the first printed book of Bombay. The former title is not available and the fact that Caresjee's press is the first printing press of Bombay is baseless while the latter book is available and the introduction of the volume claimed in black and white that this was the first printed volume. Considering the merit of the 2nd case we accept its claim.

The Curier Press was then the premier printing house in Bombay and the owner of the press for further extension of business felt the need of having Guzrati and Marātha types. An employee of the press Mr. Jijibhai Ghnapghar casted the

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types for the Curier press and Guzrati ~~z~~ types were first⁵⁴ used for printing an advertisement on 29th January, 1799. With the help of Mr. ~~Chhapghar~~ Chhapghar Mr. Fardunji Marzabar⁵⁵ established the first Guzrati press in Bombay in 1812 and published the following volumes:-

1. An almanacs for the Hindu Samvat year 1871 in 1814
2. Guzrati translation of Debestana in 1815
3. Guzrati translation of Khorde Avesta in 1817
4. Bombay Samāchār (periodical) in 1822
(continued upto 1832)

Mr. Marzaban died on 23rd March 1847. The crude types prepared by Marzaban was improved to a considerable degree by Ganapat Krishnaji and Javji Dadji.

The first advertisement in Marāthi was published in Bombay Courier on the 17th July, 1802. The Guzrati and Marāthi Scripts used in Courier were known as Mahājan and Modi scripts. These scripts were used for folk use and speedy writing while the classical or court scripts used for Guzrati and Marāthi were known as Śhāstri and Bālabodh. In 1808 the book - Illustrations of the Grammatical parts of the Guzerattee, Marāтта and English Language was printed with Modi script in the Courier press. The volume was written by Dr. Robert Drummond.

In pursuance of the policy laid down by the Bombay Native School Book and school Society (established in 1822) Devnāgrī script was introduced for printing text books in 1925-26 but due to popularity of Mahājan and Modi scripts - Devanāgrī script failed to achieve the desired effect.

At the beginning of the 19 cy. the western powers came

to powers in Bombay and simultaneously the American missionaries established themselves in the same island. The printing activities of Bombay considerably enlarged and expanded its scope in this country due to patronage and help received from the Government ~~at~~ level as well as from the missionary zeal of the Americans.

To publish christian literature the American missionaries started a printing press in 1816 and in 1817 they published the first book in Marāthi character - a translation of the ⁵⁶ Gospels of St. Matthew", but the earliest printed matter in Marathi script appeared in a Latin Book - Hortus Indicus ⁵⁷ Malabaricus" . . . published in 1678.

The Mission Press contained one single wooden press and one single fount of Marāthi types obtained from Calcutta. The press which was successively piloted by nine superintendents from 1817 to 1856 was mainly utilised for publishing Christian literature in Marāthi. Rev. H. Bardwell was the first superintendent of the press from 1817 -1820 and he knew the art of printing and well versed in Marāthi language.

But the small wooden press failed to satisfy the needs and as a result it started growing with "materials for printing to any extent required, in English, Sanskrit, Marathi, ⁵⁸ Guzrathi, Hindusthani, Persian, Arabic, Zend and Pehlvi." Thus the press enlarged physically and in 1854 it contained -"7 Hand Presses, 1 Lithographic Press, 1 Embossing Press, 2 Standing Press, 2 Cutting machines, 7 furnaces and other Foundry apparatus. It possesses the ~~x~~ moulds and matrices for

casting these faunts of English type, of the size called Pica, Long Preimer and Bourgeois; the moulds, punches and matrices for 7 Maratha founts, Balbodh character, 1 Marathi fount Modi character, 3 Guzrati founts and one Zend fount. It has two small founts for printing Hindusthani. The above founts enable us also to print Sindhi, Hindi, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. It has a fount of Music type. It has English type of various kinds, plain and fancy, sufficient for carrying on job printing to the extent that one proof⁵⁹-reader can manage."

Thus it became the premier press in Bombay and a very profitable concern. But besides the business side the press made substantial contribution towards the development of Guzrathi and Marāthi types by reducing their sizes as well as by making them more distinct.

With the gradual expansion of the varied activities the business character, which was against the ideal and purpose of the missionary press, became apparent. Considering this factor which is detrimental to the cause of the mission and also the growing administrative problem of the huge set-up, the mission in 1854 decided to close the chapter. Accordingly within four years they winded up the press selling both the English and Indian sections.

The Westerners came to power in Bombay in 1818 and for promoting education of the Indians they established in 1820 the Native School and School Book-committee with the then Bombay Governor Mount Stuart Elphinstone as its presi-

dent. The aim of the committee was to publish suitable⁶⁰ text-books in native languages. Marāthi types originally⁶¹ prepared by Sir Charles Wilkins were obtained from England and the first book in Marātha type Panchopākhyānana was published at the Curlier Press in 1822. The next books Vidura Nīti and Simhāsana-Battisi were published in 1823 and 1824 respectively. It was a slow process of publishing text books. "But this obstacle to the speedy and extensive circulation of books which is indispensable for promoting the objects of the Institution, has been in a great measure obviated by government having, with its wonted liberality presented to the society, four Lithographic presses and by two founts of types, which have been ordered from Bengal and daily expected besides ordering Printing presses and types (English and Balbodh) from England for its use. By these means the committee are persuaded that printing Dept. of the Society will be conducted with cheapness and expedition."⁶²

The 2nd Annual Report of the Bombay School Book and School Society (1824-25) furnishes us with valuable information regarding the text books and other publications of 1823-24. During this time "there has been printed only the Gunnit or System of Arithmetic on European Plan, in Geojratee and four hundred copies of each of the Folio Tables, for the use of the Schools, according to Lancaster's system, in Marātha. But there are now in the press the copies of Lancaster's Tables in Goojratē; the stories in Marātha for

children; a translation into Marat'ha and Goojratee of Colonel Palsey's Practical Geometry and Button's Mensuration of Planes and solids; and a treatise on Plane Trigonometry with Tables of Logarithms, Log; Sines etc. in Marat'ha ; a translation into Marat'ha of Esop's Fables and Hindoostunee stories translated ~~ix~~ from the Jumnool Hikayat."

Thus printing of text books and other publications increased in number every year and from the report of the Bombay Native Education Society for the year 1825-26 we get a comprehensive list of books in Marāthi and Gujrati, Persian and Hindoosthani already printed and ready for the press.

Both typographical as well as lithographical printing were done in the press of the Bombay Native Education Society. But the types being large in size the printing costed too much paper. To economise paper consumption smaller types were obtained from Calcutta.

For lithographical printing ink and the stone were the essential materials needed. Ink was produced in India and lithographic stones in 1826 and since then they replaced the stones imported from England.

Bengali:

The East India Company took the direct responsibility of ~~running the~~ running the administration of Bengal since 1765. As a result of this transfer of power the civil servants of the Company who were entrusted with the administration started learning the language of the province. This zeal for learning Bengali was directly responsible for the growth and develop-

ment of printing.

In 1778 Nathaniel Brassey Halhed (1751-1830), a civil servant of the Company and who attained much proficiency in Bengali compiled and printed in English - A Grammar of the Bengali language.⁶³ The volume was printed in the press of St. Andrew's at Hoogly and it was the earliest specimen of Bengali printing excluding the publications printed previously at Lisbon⁶⁴ and London⁶⁵. The types ~~of~~ for the book printed at Hooghly were cast by Charles Wilkins.

Sir Charles Wilkins came to Bengal in 1770. He came here as a servant of the East India Company and learnt Sanskrit, Bengali and other oriental languages and translated Sanskrit works like Geetā, Hitopadesh, Śakuntalā etc. into English. Sir Wilkins had the hobby of casting certain founts and for the publication of Halhed's grammar he casted the Bengali types at the request of the then Governor - General. The preface of Halhed's Grammar furnishes us with the following information:-

"That the Bengali letter is very difficult to be imitated in steel will readily be allowed by every person who shall examine the intricacies of the strokes, the unequal length and size of the characters, and the variety of their positions and combinations. It was no easy task to procure a writer accurate enough to prepare an alphabet of a similar and proportionate body ~~through~~ throughout, and with that symmetrical exactness which is necessary to the regularity and neatness of a fount. Mr. Bolts (who is supposed to be

well versed in this language) attempted to fabricate a set of types for it, with the assistance of the ablest artists in London. But as he has egregiously failed in executing even the easiest part, or primary alphabet, of which he has published a specimen, there is no reason to suppose that his project, when completed, would have advanced beyond the usual state of imperfection to which new inventions are constantly exposed.

The advice and even solicitation of the Governor General prevailed upon Mr. Wilkins, a gentleman who has been some years in the India Company's civil service in Bengal, to undertake a set of Bengali types, he did, and his success has exceeded every expectation. In a country so remote from all connection with European artist he has been obliged to charge himself with all the various occupations of the ~~Metallu~~ Metallurgist, the Engraver, the Founder and the Printer. To the merit of invention he was compelled to add the application of personal labour. With a rapidity unknown ~~in~~ in Europe, he surmounted all the obstacles which necessarily clog the first rudiments of a difficult art, as well as the disadvantages of solitary experiment; and has thus singly on the first effort exhibited his work in a state of perfection which in every part of the world has appeared to require the united improvement of different projectors, and the gradual polish of successive ages."

Thus Sir Wilkins achieved something unique and his unique achievement paved the way for the establishment of the

first Bengali printing press. Sir Wilkins also trained some Indian craftsmen which helped to domesticate the art. He employed Sri Panchānan Karmakār, a blacksmith of Sreerampur as his assistant. Panchānan learnt the art of type cutting and casted Bengali types for the presses which started in Calcutta and Sreerampur.

We do not know the details of the Press at Hooghly which published Halhed's Grammar. But from the following letter it is evidently clear that in 1779 the Governor-General and Council intended to establish a printing press under the⁶⁸ care of Charles Wilkins .

To

J.P.Auriol, Esqr.,
Secretary to the General Dept.

Sir,

The Honble the Governor-General and Council having thought proper to establish a Printing Office^r under the Superintendence of Mr. Charles Wilkins, I am directed to transmit you the enclosed Copy of the Rates of Printing and to desire that you will prepare and furnish Mr. Wilkins with copies of all such papers in your office as will admit of being printed, whether in the Persian, Bengal or Roman character, leaving Blanks for Names, Dates and other occurrences as are liable to alter, and specifying the Number of each Form usually issued in the course of a year.

Revenue Department
Fort Williams,
The 8th January, 1779

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,

Sd/-Geo. Hodgson
Secretary.

For every Quire of Folio Post, Paper included.

If Printed on One side Sa. Rs.3

If Printed on both sides.. .. Rs.5

For Persian and Bengali

For every Quire of Folio Post Printed on one side.. Rs.5

-do- -do- ... Rs.7

Revenue Dept.
A true copy

Sd/- W. Webber
Sub-Secretary

But the plan did not materialise at that time. He devoted himself deeply into oriental studies and contributed valuable articles in the earlier volumes of the Asiatic Researches. In 1783 Sir William Jones came to Bengal as a judge of the Supreme Court. Wilkins co-operated with him in the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Due to ill health he left India in 1786 and rejoined the Company's service as Librarian and custodian of Oriental Manuscripts of the India Office Library in 1800. The majority of the collection was taken at the fall of Srirangapatam. He was also attached with Hailcybury College from its foundation in 1805. During this time he wrote and edited several
69
volumes.

The great oriental scholar and Caxton of Bengal died
70
in London, May 13, 1836.

In 1780 Augustus Hicki established the first press in Calcutta for printing "Bengal Gazette". In 1784 Francis Gladwin established the "Calcutta Gazette Press", where
71
all the Govt. papers were printed.

During the last decade of the 18th cy. as a result of the establishment of the Supreme Court and certain administrative changes the following publications were printed at the Company's press:-

1. Jonathan Duncan's translation of "Impey Code" was named as "Regulations for the Administration of Justice in the Courts of Dewanee Adaulat" was published in 1785.
2. Neil Benjamin Edmunstone's translation of Regulations for the administration of Justice in the Fouzdary Criminal Courts in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, passed by the Governor-General in Council on the 3rd December, 1790;
72
Calcutta 1791.
3. Bengali translation (by N.B. Edmonstone) of the Regulations for the guidance of the Magistrates passed by the Governor-General in Council in the Revenue Department on the 18th May, 1792, with supplementary enactments,
Calcutta, 1792.
4. Famous "Cornwallis Code" of 1793 translated by H.P.
73
Forster.

5. Besides the above rules, regulations and codes "A New Persian and English Work after the method of Boyer and others" by Robert Jones was printed at the Company's Press in Calcutta in 1792⁷⁴ and a Upjohn's Ingaraji and Bengali vokabilari was published in 1793 at the Chronicle Press,
75
Calcutta. Gilchrist's Grammar of Hindusthani language was published in 1796 at the Chronicle Press.

Calcutta in Devanāgarī types and "A vocabulary in two

parts, English and Bengalee and vice versa by H.P. Forster, Senior Merchant on the Bengal Establishment" was published in two instalments in 1799 and 1802 from the Press of Ferris Company, Calcutta. In 1797 John Miller published "The Tutor" or A New English and Bengalee work, well adapted to teach The Natives English (in three parts) probably from Calcutta. ⁷⁶ ..

In the history of Bengal printing the years 1799 and 1801 are memorable when a band of missionaries landed on the banks of the Ganges and the Fort William College was established for imparting knowledge of the vernacular to young civilians.

The Baptist Mission, being prevented by the East India Company from having a centre within the British territory established themselves at Sreerampur, a Danish territory near Calcutta and started with new vigour and energy for preaching the religion of Christ. The mission's chief aim was to translate Bible and other Christian literature into Bengali. But the Company did not favour the idea of the propagation of the religions and never encouraged such activities. ⁷⁷

Dr. John Thomas who came to Bengal in 1783 took the leading part in the establishment of the Mission at Sreerampur. He returned home in 1792 and the next year brought William Carey along with him. Dr. Thomas and Carey being refused to be granted with a licence sailed for Bengal in a Danish ship on June 13, and reached Bengal on November 11.

Carey's mission was to translated the Christian literature into Bengali and accordingly he had completed the transla-

tion of the greater portion of the Bible by the year 1798 while living at Madanbati with the exception of the historical books from Joshua to Job.⁷⁸ He was eager to publish them in Bengali. In 1778 he purchased a wooden press for £40 but it was a costly affair to impart the necessary punches from England. In that case "Each punch would cost a guinea and the cost of printing the New Testament at Calcutta would be Rs.43,750/- for 10,000 copies." In the meantime meanwhile he came to know that a foundry had been started in Calcutta for casting vernacular types. He failed to locate the factory but utilised the local talents who had training under Sir Charles Wilkins. He accordingly brought down the press to Sreerampur which was previously set up at Madanbati.

In November 1799 Williams Ward and Joshua Marshman along with their families landed at Sreerampur. Being missionaries, they were refused permission and ordered to go home back by the British authorities. At that time the Danish governor of Sreerampur came to their rescue and protection. The Sreerampur Baptist Mission was founded in January 1800 by Thomas, Carey, Ward and Marshman and the press started functioning till then.

The Bengali technicians who learnt the art of ~~punching~~ punch-cutting were Panchanan Karmakar, a blacksmith of Sreerampur and his son-in-law Monohar. Panchanan learnt the art of type - cutting from Sir Wilkins. Through a "pious fraud" Carey secured Panchanan from Colebrook and with their help

extended the activities of the press and established a foundry to make types in all eastern languages. Regarding the assistance received from Panchānan we gather the following information from the "Memoir relative to the Translation of the Sacred Scriptures into the language of the East:"

"Soon after our settling at ~~Ser~~ Sreerampur the providence of God brought to us the very artist who had wrought with Wilkins in that work, and in a great measure imbibed his ideas. By his assistance, we erected a letter-foundry; although he is now dead he had so fully communicated his art to a number of others, that they carry forward the work of type-casting, and even of cutting the matrices, with a degree of accuracy which would not disgrace European artists." After Panchānan, Monohar served the mission for forty years and then his son Krishna, who became very capable in punch-cutting took charge of the establishment and helped its continuous growth till 1850 when he died of Cholera. After his death of faithful account of the contributions of Panchānan, Monohar and Krishna was published in the weekly "Satya-Pradeep" dated 25th May 1850.

Sreerampur continued down till 1860 to be the principal Oriental type foundry of the East and from 1800 to 1832 the Sreerampur Mission Press published nearly two hundred and twelve thousand volumes in forty different languages. Mr. George Smith in his book - The Life of William Carey D.D. gives us a list of various language publications of Sreerampur Press. Besides the publications, they prepared also mova-

-able metal types of Chinese characters and the achievement was something unique.

Fort William College and the School Book Society, Calcutta

The Fort William College, Calcutta was established in August, 1800 for imparting better instructions to the Junior Civil Servants of the Company. The College besides its various other cultural activities helped considerably the development of Bengal printing.

In April 1801, Carey was appointed the teacher of Bengali and Sanskrit in this College. Later he was entrusted with the task of teaching Marāthi and in 1807 he was raised to the rank of a professor. His pay as the teacher of Sanskrit and Bengali was Rs.500/- per month but with the additional duty his pay was increased to Rs.1000/-. The large sum of money helped Carey to extend his field of activity and fulfill his mission.

"The authorities of the college felt the need for Indian language publications without which instruction in these languages would be difficult. The college therefore encouraged printing presses in Calcutta to cut types and print books in Indian languages. But as these presses were in the hands of the Europeans or Anglo-Indians the founts for Indian language alphabets made by them were not satisfactory. The college authorities began to encourage the Pundits and Munshis to establish foundaries for good

standard founts of Indian alphabets. They offered to patronise presses using such improved founts. The teachers of Parsi, Hindi, Bengali and other departments of the college designed improved founts and new printing presses established in Calcutta used these founts for printing books written by the professors of the Fort William College. It is said that improved Bengali founts were modelled on the handwriting of Kalikumār Roy, a Bengali teacher of the college and they were cast by Panchānan Karmakār.⁷⁹

For teaching Sanskrit Carey wrote a grammar and for this he had to get Devnāgarī types prepared. The same types were used for printing Hindusthānī as well as Marāthī literature. Carey also compiled a Marāthā grammar and this was printed at Sreerampur in 1805.

Before Carey's attempt to get Devnagari types prepared, Devnagari printing was done both in India and Europe.⁸⁰

The Devnāgarī types introduced by Carey with the ~~kt~~ help of Panchānan were oversized and were un-economical from the point of consumption of paper. Smaller types were prepared with the assistance of Indian technicians and the set consists of nearly 1000 different combinations of characters. But inspite of all these Modi type replaced Devnāgarī when the 2nd editions of Marāthā Grammar, Marāthā Bible and Marāthā dictionary were published.

The text books published under the auspices of Fort William College were costly. It was difficult for the average student to procure copies of those volumes. In order to make the

volumes ~~may~~ cheaper and easily available Calcutta School Book Society was established on July 1817. The members of the Society were Carey, Tārini Chandra Mitra, Rādhākanta Deva and Rāmkamal Sen. The Society published text books on literature, History, Geography, Grammar etc.

The three Indian members of the society compiled and translated - Nīti-Kathā and published the same in 1818. Tārā Chānd Datta published in 1819 in English Bengali bilingual book - Pleasing tales or Monoranjanetihas. Rāmkamal Sen translated Easop's Fables and Farma Kopia (Ousadhsār Samgraha) in 1819. "Vyākaranasāra" written by Mādhava Chandra Bhattāchārjee was printed in 1824.

Early Printing Presses and Book Trade of Bengal

Thus printed books became very common and several printing presses were started in Calcutta to feed the volume of the then demand.

In the first half of the 19th cy. (1825-26) the following
81
presses were active in Calcutta:-

- (1) Chandrikā Jantrālaya of Kalutolā
- (2) The press of Levender of Bowbāzar
- (3) The Press of Harachandra Roy, Āarpulī
- (4) Sambād Īmir Nāsak Press of Mirzāpur
- (5) Press of Muṇshi Hidayetullā of Mirzāpur
- (6) Press of Mahendralāl of Sānkāritolā
- (7) Press of Badan Pālīt of Sānkāritolā
- (8) Press of Biswanāth Deva of Sovābazar.

- (9) Press of Mr. Pier of Entally
- (10) Samsul Akbar Press
- (11) College Press.

Besides these some other presses were also established in places around Calcutta.

The number of printing presses in and around Calcutta shows that the volume of demand for printed books increased to a degree.

The volume of demand for printed books thus paved the way for book-trade. In the history of the book-trade of Bengal of the early 19th century the name of Gangākishore stands supreme.

Gangākishore, who lived in village named Bahara near Sreerampur, started first the business of book-production cum selling. He learnt the art of book production at Sreerampur Mission Press.

"Gangākishore, formerly employed at the Serampore Press, who appears to have been the first who conceived the idea of printing works in the current language as a means of acquiring wealth. To ascertain the pulse of the Hindoo public, he printed several works at the press of a European, for which having obtained a ready sale, he established an office of his own and opened a book-shop. He also used to appoint agents to see his books in the important cities and towns of Bengal. He was himself an author of several volumes and established the Bangla Gezette Press

in Calcutta possibly in 1818. ~~Bangala~~ Bangla Gezette, the⁸² first Bengali newspaper was published from the press.

Gangākishore is the first Bengali who introduced organized book-trade and published the first Bengali newspaper. He thus popularized a noble cause.

After Gangākishore the Bat Talā publishers of Calcutta maintained the tradition with new vigour and published books of varied types. Still to-day the name of Bat Talā publishers is historically famous who tried to fulfill the work started by Gangākishore.

List
of
Books printed in Goa
(in 16th & 17th cy.)

Particulars of literature known to have been printed in the 16th Century in Goa are given here:-

- (i) 1556. Conclusoes e outras coisas (Theses and other things) (No extant copy recorded).
- (ii) 1557. St. Francisco Xavier. Doutrina Christam (No extant copy recorded).
- (iii) 1557. Confecionarios (No extant copy recorded).
- (iv) 1560. Goncalo Rodrigues. Tratado... contra os erros scismaticos dos abexins (A Tract against the Schismatic Errors of the Abyssinians). (No extant copy recorded). Reference to this book is found as mentioned by Mr. Primrose, 36 in Barbosa 37(ii,402).

The four books mentioned above were printed by Joao Bustamante.

- (v) 1556-1561. Doutrina Christa. In a letter written by Fr. Luis Frois from Goa on December 4, 1561, we find mention of the use of printed booklets on Christian Doctrine in an Indian language for the purpose of imparting religious instruction to Indians : "Thereafter a little of the Doutrina is taught which is also recited to them in their own language with the help of booklets which ~~are~~ printed here in the house". 33 (No extant copy recorded).

- (vi) 1561. Gaspar de Leao. Comendio Spiritval da Vida Christaa. (Spiritual Compendium of the Christian Life). A copy of this work is available in the New York Public Library. It was bought by James Lenox in a public sale in London in July 1862. 39 The printers of this book are Jaa0 de Quinquencia and Jaa0 de Endem. This is the earliest book printed in Goa which is available at present.
- (vii) 1563. Garcia da Orta. Coloquies dos simples, e drogas he cousas medicinaes da India. (Conversations on Indian plants and drugs referring to the medicine of India). Printed by Joao de Endem. The author was the Lessee of the Island of Bombay four centuries ago. A copy of this book is available in the British Museum. It was also translated into English by Sir Clements Markham and published by H. Sotheran (London) in 1913.
- (viii) 1565. Tratado que fez Mestre Hieronimo ... cotra os Judeos. (A tract against the Jews) Printed by Jaa0 de ~~Endem~~ Endem. A copy is available in the National Library of Lisbon. 40
- (ix) 1568. Constitvcoes do arcebispado de Goa, Approuadas pello primeiro concilio prounncial. Anno 1568. (Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Goa. Approved by the First Provincial Council in 1569). The only known copy is available in the National Library of Lisbon. 41
- (x) 1573. Gaspar de Leao. Desenganos de perdidos. (Disillusionment of the Lost.) Reference in Barbosa (ii, 385). (No extant copy recorded).

- (xi) 1581. *Compendium Indicvm.* (Indian Compendium, containing faculties and other privileges granted to the Society of Jesus in India). Printed at St. Paul's College, Goa. The only known copy is available in the Fei-T'ang Library, Peking. 43
- (xii) 1588. *Oratio Habita a Fara D. Martino.* (Lecture delivered by D. Martino a Fara, a Japanese in the College of St. Paul). Printed at the Society's College, Goa. Japanese types were cast at this time by the Japanese printer Constantino Dourado⁴⁴ who was taught the art of preparing types by Joao Bustamante. A copy of this book is available in the Jesuit Archives at Rome.

We do not find any trace of any book published in Goa during the next twenty-seven years until we come to 1615.

Books known to have been printed

in Goa in the 17th Century

- (i) 1616. Thomas Stephens. *Discurso sobre a vinda de Jusu Christo Nosso Salvador ao Mundo* (Discourse on the coming of the Christ to the World.) (No extant copy recorded).

This is the famous *Purana* by F. Stephens which is written in literary Marathi. The next two editions of this work were printed in 1649 and 1654. But none of these have survived to our day. The text of the fourth edition, printed in 1907 at Mangalore, 45 was prepared from some manuscripts.

- (ii) 1622. Thomas Stephens. *Doutrina Christam.* This work on Christian Doctrine in the form of a dialogue is written in the dialect spoken by Goa Brahmins. This was written

xx by the author before the Purana, but was published after the Purana. A copy is available in the Government Library in Lisbon and another in the library of the Vatican in Rome. A facsimile edition prepared by Dr. Mariano Saldanha was published by the Portuguese Government in Lisbon in 1945.

- (iii) 1632. Diogo Ribeiro. Declaracam da Dovtrina Christam (A statement of the Christian Doctrine). This was written in the Brahmin dialect of Goa. A copy is available in the Government Library in Lisbon.

All the three works mentioned above were printed at the Rachol College.

- (iv) 1629-34. Etienne de la Groix. Discvros sobre a vida do Apostolo San Pedro. (Discourses on the life of the Apostle St. Peter). This work written in 'Bramana Marastta' language was printed at the Casa Professa in the island of Goa. A copy is available in the Government Library in Lisbon. A mutilated copy is also available in the Government Library in Goa.
- (v) 1636. Relacam de hum prodigioso Milagre qve o Glorioso S. Francisco Xauier Apostolo do Oriete obrou na Cidade de Napoles no anno de 1634. (Narrative of a prodigious Miracle performed by St. Francis Xavier in the City of Naples in 1634). Printed at the Rachol College in 1636. The only known copy is owned by Mr. C. R. Boxer. 46
- (vi) 1640. Thomas Stephens. Arte da Lingoa Canarim (Grammar of Canarim Language). This was originally written by Fr. Thomas Stephens and revised and enlarged by Fr. Diogo

Ribeiro. The language spoken by the common people in Goa is here styled as Lingoa Canarim. The book was printed at St. Ignatius College, Rachol. A second edition of this book was published by Mr. Cunha Rivara in 1858 in Goa.

A copy of the first edition is available in the National Library of Lisbon.

- (vii) 1641. Fala, qve fes o P. Fr. Manoel da Crus . . . (A speech delivered by Fr. Manoel da Cruz when D. Joao IV was proclaimed king of Portugal). Printed in Goa.

A copy is available in the National Library of Rio de Janeiro, and another is owned by Mr. C.R. Boxer. 47.

- (viii) 1642. Jornada que Francisco de Souza de Castro... fez ao Achem com hua importante Embaixada inuiado pelo V. Rey da India Pero da Sylua no anno de 1638. (Journey by Francisco de Souza de Castro to Achem as an Ambassador of the Viceroy of India in 1638).

The only available copy is in the Public Library of Porto (Portugal) 48.

- (ix) 1642. Antonio Fernandes. Magseph Assetat Idest Flagelvm Mendaciorvm contra Libellum Aethiopicum. (A whip against falsehoods, a treatise against the Ethiopian Libel). Printed at St. Paul's College, Goa.

The only copy available is in the National Library of Lisbon. 49

- (x) 1643. Relacam do que socedeeo na cidade de Goa... na felice acclamacao del Rey Do Ioao o IIII de Portugal.. (A narrative of what happened in the city of Goa... at the happy acclamation of D. Joao IV of Portugal). Printed at St. Paul's College Goa. A copy is available in the British Museum. 50

- xi) 1643. Constituicoes do Arcebispado de Goa, aprovados pelo primeiro Concilio Provincial (Constitution of the Archbishopric of Goa, approved by the First Provincial Council). Printed at St. Paul's College, Goa.

Two copies are in the Government Library of Goa. 51

- xii) 1644. Sermao qve o Padre Diogo de Areda...pregou no acto da Fee que se celebrou na Cidade de Goa, domingo 4. dias do mes de Setembro do anno de 1644. (Sermon preached by Fr. Diogo de Areda at the Act of Faith celebrated in the city of Goa on September 4, 1644). Printed at St. Paul's College, Goa.

Two copies are reported to have been sold by Maggs. Bros. Ltd. (London), in 1946-56. 52.

- Xiii) 1649. The Second edition of Fr. Stephens Christian Purnana whose first edition was printed in 1616 as mentioned above (No extant copy ~~was~~ recorded)

- xiv) 1649. Constitvicoens do Areebispado de Goa. This appears to be the second edition of the work mentioned above, No. xi. (1643). Printed at St. Paul's College, Goa. The only copy available is in the National Library of Rio de Janeiro. 53.

- (xv) 1652. Vida da Santissima Virgem Maria May de Deos (Life of the most Holy Virgin Mary, the Mother of God). Printed at St. Paul's College in Goa. This is a Portuguese Translation by Patriarch Alphonso Mendex of a book written by Antonio Fernandes in the Armaranic language. 54

A copy is available in the Public Library of Porto (Portugal. 55)

(xvi) 1654. The third edition of Fr.Thomas Stephens Christian Purana (For earlier editions see under 1616 and 1649 above. No printed copy is known to exist, but a manuscript copy of this is available in the Convent of St.Cajetan in Goa.

(xvii) 1655. Antonio de Saldanha. Padva mhallalea xarantulea Sancto Antonichy Zivitua catha (Life of St. Anthony of Padua.) This book was written in verse in Marathi and also in prose in the spoken dialect of Goa. Both were printed in Roman script, like all other contemporary literature in Goa languages. A ~~transliteration~~ transliteration into Devanagari script of the Marathi version, edition by Mr.A.K.Priolkar, was published by the Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, Bombay, in 1956.

A copy of the original is available in the Government Library, Lisbon. Mr.Cunha Rivara mentions two more vernacular works of the same author: (1) Rosas e boninas deleitosas do ameno Rosal de Maria ae seu Rosario....Rachol 4" and (2) Fructo ~~da~~ da arvore da vida a noseas almas e corpos salutifero... Rachol 4" with a remark "sem anno de impressao" (without year of impression 56).

There is no record of printed copies of these works, but a manuscript copy of the latter work in Marathi verse, is available in the school of Oriental and African studies, London. It is probable that Mr. Rivara had not seen any printed copies, but relied on some catalogue of books.

(xviii) 1658-59 Minguel de Almeida. Jardim dos Pastores.

(Garden of Shepherds in five volumes). This is written in the Brahmin dialect of Goa.

In an article published in the Examiner of Bombay in 1922 by Fr. H. Hosten, a detailed description is given of what is believed to be the first volume, which was in the possession of a priest (Conego Francisco Xavier Vaz) of Velha Goa. It bore the following words on its vernacular title - page, indicating that it was printed in 1658 at St. Paul's College, Goa:-

EANCHEAN

ONVALLEACHO MALLO, ZO

JESVche Sangantichea, Pandry Minguel de
Almeidana Banana Bhassena
Ghaddunu lihunu,
udeguilo

Pauitra Inquisicanua anny ordinariches
niropana Goya, S Paulache Collegintu,
sollassi atthavanavea varussa
lihitamanddapi tthe sila. 58

The efforts of the present writer to trace the copy mentioned herein at Anjuna Goa, the native place of Fr. Vaz, were however unsuccessful. The present writer has seen a copy of what appears to be the third volume of this work, in the Government Library of Goa 58. This lacks the title-page.

The fifth volume printed in 1659 is listed in the Biblioteca Marsdeana.⁵⁹ Probably this is the same copy as is now in the possession of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

- (xix) 1660. Jao de Pendroza. Soliloqvios Divinos (Devine Soliloquies) translated from the "Castelhana" language into the Bramin language and printed at the New St. Paul's College, Goa.

A copy of this book is in the Government Library, Goa. This is the last of the books printed in Goa, which the present writer has been able to see.

- (xx) 1667-69. A.P. Prospero Intorcetta. Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis. 36 leaves in Chinese characters printed at Canton in 1667 and 20 leaves in Roman types at Goa in 1669.

A copy of this book is available in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. 60

- (xxi) 1674. Regras da Companhia de Jesu (Rules of the Society of Jesus). Printed at Rachol in 1674. A copy is available in the Pei-T'ang Library, Peking. 61.

From the review of the printed literature given above it is evident that the press continued to function in Goa till 1674.

List of
Early Printed Books
of
Bengal
 (upto 1817 A.D.)

- 1778: A Grammar of the Bengali Language by N.B.Halhed was printed in the Press of St.Andrew's at Hooghly.
- 1785: Jonathan's Duncan's translation of "Impey Code" was named as Regulations for the Administration of Justice, in the courts of Dewanee Adaulat at Hon. Company's Press, Calcutta.
- 1787: The Calcutta Gazettee or the Oriental Adviser.
- 1791: Bengal Translation of the Regulations for the Administration of Justice, in the Fouzdarry, or Criminal courts; in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by N.B.Edmunstone at H. Company's Press, Calcutta.
- 1792: 1) Bengal translation of Regulations for the guidance of the Magistrates by N.B.Edmunstone.
 Passed by the Governor General in Council in the Revenue Dept. on the 18th of May, 1792 (with some supplementary enactments).
- 2) A New Persian and English work after the method of Boyar and others by Robert Jones at the Company's Press, Calcutta.
- 1793: 1) Cornwallis Code translated by H.P.Forster.
 Calcutta.

2) A Upjohn's Ingaraji and Bengali Vokabilari at the Chronicle press, Calcutta.

1796: Gilchrist's Grammar of Hindusthani language at the Chronicle Press, Calcutta.

1799: 1) A Vocabulary in two parts, English and Bengali and vice versa by H.P. Forster, senior merchant on the Bengal Establishment" was published in two instalments in 1799 and 1802 from the Press of Firris Company, Calcutta.

2) The Tutor or A New English and Bengalee work will be adapted to teach The Natives English. In three parts. by John Miller.

1800: Mangal Samāchār Matīur Rakhita.

(Translation of Gospen of St. Mathew). Sreerampur Mission Press.

1801: 1) Pentateuch (First part of the New and Old Testament).

2) Dialogues intended to facilitate the acquiring of the Bengali language by W. Carey. Sreerampur Mission Press.

3) Rājā Protāpāditya Charita by Rām Rām Basu, Sreerampur Mission Press

4) Dharma Pustaka (Bengali Bible). Imprint date 1802. Sreerampur Mission Press.

1802: 1) Mahābhārata (Bengali Translation) by Kāśhē Rām Dāss., Sreerampur Mission Press.

2) Rāmāyan (Bengali Translation) by Kirtee Bass (Ojha) 5 vols. Sreerampur Mission Press.

3. Batrish Simhāsan by Mrityunjay Sharman, Sreerampur Mission Press.

- 1802: 4) Lipimālā by Rām Rām Basu. Sreerampur Mission Press.
 5) Hitopadesha by Golaknāth Sharma., Sreerampur Mission Press.
 6) Thesis pronounced at the disputation in the Hindustani language on the sixth of February, 1802. ~~Henry~~ Hon. Company's Press.

~~1803: xxi~~

- 7) Bengali-English Vocabulary by Forster.
- 1803: 1) The Oriental Fabulist in Roman characters. Translated into Bengali by Tārini Charan Mitra
 2) Dander Geet (Bengali translation of O.T. Psalms) Sreerampur Mission Press.
 3) Uklaqi Hindee or Indian ethics by Buhadur Ulee, Mir (Urdu). Hindoostani Press, Calcutta.
1804. 1) Hitopadesa or Salutory Instructions in the ~~Oriental~~ original Sanskrit (followed by Dasa Kumār Charita). Sreerampur Mission Press.
 2) Hindee-Roman Ortho Epigraphical Ultimatum. Hindoosthani Press, Calcutta.
- 1805: 1) Mahārāja Krishna Chandra Royasha Charitram by Rājiblochana Mukherjee. Sreerampur Mission Press.
 2) Totā Itihāsa (translation from Hindi into Bengali) by Chandi Charan Munshi. Sreerampur Mission Press.
 3) A Grammar of the Mahwāta language to which are added dialogues on familiar subjects by W. Carey. Sreerampur Mission Press.
- 1806: 1) A Grammar of the Sungskrit Language by W. Carey. Sreerampur Mission Press.

- 1808: Amarusataka. Calcutta Fort William College printed at Baburām's Press, Kidderpore, Calcutta.
- 1809: Bhāgavadgītā. Calcutta Fort William College. Printed at Baburām's Press. Kidderpore, Calcutta.
- 1810: Lāllulāl Kavi's Prem Sāgar, translated into Hinduvee from the Brajbhāṣā of Chutturabhooj Misra by Shree Lāllulāl Kavi, Bhasa Munshee in the college of the Fort William. Sanskrit Press. Calcutta.
- 1810:2) Dictionary of the Mahratta language by W. Carey, First Maratha-English Dictionary. The Marāṭhi words are printed in "Modi" type.
- 1811:1) Isvarasya Sarvvavākyaṃ (Sanskrit translation of Bible). Sreerampur Mission Press.
- 2) Kulliyat-i-Mir by Muhammad Taqi, Mir (Urdu) Hindoosthani Press. Calcutta.
- 1812: 1) Itihasamālā or a collection of stories in the Bengali Language. Sreerampur Mission Press.
- 2) A collection of Hindustani exercises printed for the Public Examination, Fort William Press, Calcutta.
- 1813:1) Meghaduta or cloud Messenger (Original Sanskrit text with English translation. ed. by H.H. Wilson). Hindoostani Press, Calcutta.
- 2) The Malabar New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Sreerampur Mission Press. (First Tamil Book printed at Sreerampur Mission Press).
- 1814: 1. Śrī Karunānidhana vilāsa by Jaynārāyan Ghosāl. Kidderpore.

- 1814 : 2) Simhāsana battisi by Vaijnāth Sarmā(Marāṭha)
in Modi type., Sreerampur Mission Press
- 1815 : 1) Puruṣha Parīkṣhā by Hara Prosād Roy. Sreeram-
pur Mission Press
- 2) Vedānta Chandrikā with English Translation by
Pandit Śrī Mrityunjaya Vidyāṭlankāra ..
- 3) Vedānto Grantha and Vedānta Sāra by Rām Mohan.
- 4) Bengali-English Dictionary by W. Carey. 1 Vol.
- 5) New Testament(in Punjabi) translated by W.
Carey.
- 1816 : 1) Bhārat Chandra's Oonoodāh Mongal with six
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- 4.(a) Anya Mudraya Mudhainam(Seal w this with the
signet ring)
(b) Agrihita Mudrah Katakānnish Krāmasi(who are
you going out of the camp without taking
a self impression).
5. A record of the Buddhist religion as preached
in India and Malay Archipelago.I-Tsing(Taka
Kasu) .. p. 150.
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The invention of Printing in China .. p. 145
10. The Printing Press in India, Priolkar, p.7
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18. ibid., con. 1-2-33, p.81 ..
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23. M.M.L.A. 1941, pp. 54-65
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25. The Printing Press in India. pp. 25-26
26. Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part I, p.25
27. ibid, Part II, p.15
28. ibid, Part III, p.1-17
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30. ibid, p.68
31. ibid, p.43
32. ibid, p.184
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36. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.IV, p.582
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44. ibid, Vol. I, p.327
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46. Account of the East Indies, Vol.I, p.61
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50. ibid,
51. ibid,
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53. ibid, p.73
54. ibid,
55. ibid.
56. M.P.A.M.M. p. 77.
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p.233
58. The Printing Press in India, p.82
59. ibid, p.83
60. ibid, p.87
61. ibid, p.89
62. Second Annual Report (1924-25) of the Bombay National
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66. Preface. pp. xxiii-iv
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69. Asiatic Journal 1836. pp. 165-171
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শ্রী মুক্তা নবাব গবর্নর জেনারেল বাহাদুরের হজুর
কৌনসেলের ১৭৯৩ খ্রিস্টাব্দে প্রাপ্ত আর্কাইভ। তাহা নবাব গবর্নর
জেনারেল বাহাদুরের হজুর কৌনসেলের আজ্ঞাতে মুদ্রিত
হইল। ১৭৯৩। The 2nd Edt. was published in 1826.
74. In the private collection of Mr. A.K.Pivolkar.
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character is in the private collection of Dr.Suniti
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was printed at the Chronicle Press, Calcutta.
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